FORUM

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Vol. CVI AUGUST, 1946 No. 2

A defense of the scientific expert

The Expert in Government—II

The Scientist

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THE long line of Utopias that have blossomed in the unease of man's political lot is haunted by a recurrent dream in which states are governed by experts whose infallible minds solve all social problems with Solomon's wisdom. And along with this yearning there has often come a certain scorn of democracy as, in a certain sense, committed to a government of "amateurs". The temptation to resign all control to such a supposed infallible expert has grown with the complexity of human problems and human institutions. The readers may recall a remarkable play produced in 1928, *Wings Over Europe,* by Robert Nichols and Maurice Browne, in which a young physicist named Lightfoot discovers the principle of releasing subatomic energy and presents his hopes for the future of civilization to the British Cabinet. They promptly betray his high ideals. But though the hero dies with Maxwell's equations on his lips, scientists from every nation, armed with the nuclear bomb and organized as the "Guild of United Brain-Workers of the World," take over the reins of government, and summon the politicians and statesmen to Geneva to receive their orders.

Though the authors disavowed any philosophical intentions, their story dramatizes our predicament. What shall we do with those members of society who have trained themselves in special fields to the degree that ranks them as "experts"? Can we use their knowledge wisely and still remain a democracy?

The question is too intricate for a brief answer, but it is one upon which every citizen should meditate. Perhaps we should first ask what constitutes expert knowledge, so that we can see its relation to the non-expert knowledge of common sense. What does the expert know? Broadly speaking, his knowledge consists of scientific, or natural and social, laws. A law is a statement about correlations between events—that such-and-such events are invariably accompanied, or followed, by certain other events. A law is a general proposition, that something

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always happens in a certain sequence, *other conditions being equal.* It is therefore an implicit prediction that where certain conditions exist, or are artificially produced, certain consequences must follow. Thus the physicist is an expert because he knows, among other things, that if two pieces of uranium of a certain type and size are brought together in the presence of free "slow" neutrons, a certain number of ergs of energy will be released in a very short time. But a law is always an abstraction from the concrete pattern of events, and it is always a matter of *probability* whether the conditions *are* as they are judged to be. A scientific law is not Solomon's wisdom, but something more valuable.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Now a law can only be verified by that set of procedures known as "scientific method," and that includes observation of a large number of instances. Thus what distinguishes scientific knowledge from common-sense knowledge is primarily the degree of probability that it possesses (because it is verified in such a large number of cases and under such carefully controlled conditions), as well as its systematic order. The expert is the one who has scientific knowledge, as distinct from more or less intuitive, hit-or-miss, rule-of-thumb generalizations from common experience. His terminology may be strange and technical, because he achieves economy and precision of statement by inventing arbitrary words, but the difference between scientific thinking and ordinary thinking (when the latter is logical), is in degree, not in kind.

There have been three fundamentally different solutions of the problem of the expert's rôle in democratic government. It is important to distinguish them, and examine their defects and virtues carefully.

The first solution, and perhaps a common-sense one, is to deny that there can be expertness in the matters most closely connected with government. Nobody denies a special body of knowledge, acquired by special training, to dentists, plumbers, chemists, engineers and "efficiency experts". Moreover, nobody denies that their training gives them a unique skill in acquiring new knowledge in their own realm of work. But there are still many areas where there is a widespread trust in the sufficiency of common sense and a corresponding mistrust of pretensions to special knowledge. In this area, it is believed that it is not knowledge, but a certain "knack", or "intuitive grasp" of the materials, something innate rather than acquired, which qualifies the successful workers; in short, in common speech, these areas comprise "arts" rather than "sciences."

This skepticism is, to a certain degree, healthy. The indiscriminate grasping for pseudo-scientific labels by beauty "experts," "researchers" in tasty meals, vocational-guidance "experts", and "laboratories" for advice-to-the-lovelorn, is one of the great rackets of the day. But the skepticism wears an aspect of dangerous and willful ignorance when based on the belief that there are some things inherently not susceptible of scientific study. Many have argued that there can be no

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"science" of society, and no "principles" of politics.

Incipient pneumonia is instantly called to the attention of a physician by many people who would continue to treat an incipient manic-depressive psychosis by well-intentioned blundering—not because they have not heard of "psychoses," but because they really are convinced that any "sympathetic" and "understanding" person is qualified to deal with troubled "minds", though not with troubled "bodies". Despite all that has been accomplished in the field of child psychology, it is still a strong popular myth that the acquisition of scientific knowledge and training in observation has nothing to do with helping small children to play and grow. How many mothers still prefer to base their principles of child guidance upon generalizations from their neighbors' children (a dozen cases) rather than upon the clinical psychologist's generalizations from a thousand cases! Even in an older field, the tendency of some economists to go out on rotten limbs, and the striking conflicts between their predictions, have led many to suppose that economics is not a science at all but elaborately adorned guesswork.

This mistrust of the scientific method, this failure to recognize that the scientific method is the only way that general propositions about matters of fact can be reliably verified, *whatever the subject-matter,* is often at the root of the practical politician's suspicion of scientific experts. In local government, there is still a widespread feeling that the public health officers, nursery school teachers, and chief of police may be anyone who wants the job and uses common sense; as though preventive medicine, child guidance and criminology were not sciences that have to be learned.

It is one of the most ridiculous features of our jurisprudence that the psychiatric expert is introduced into the criminal process in a manner that nullifies all the authority of his science by making his testimony simply another pawn in the game of wits between the opposing sides. Upon the stand, he is asked a question which is formulated in archaic and carefully undefined terms: "Is the defendant insane?" But the word "insane" belongs to a prescientific stage of psychology, and has little usefulness in the more precise terminology of present-day psychiatry. Moreover, whatever attempts he may make to deal with the question will be frustrated by the testimony of the opposing side's psychiatrist, and the determination of the truth about the defendent's actual mental condition (in most, but not all, states) will rest not upon scientific method but on verbalism, rhetoric, sentimentality or vindictiveness.

On the national scale, the same attitude accounts for the hue and cry once raised against "professors" in Washington. And though professors are now *persona grata* in some quarters once closed to them, the "advisory experts" in the national government occupy a precarious and anomalous position in relation to the law-making branch of government. They have power to collect data, prepare reports and give advice, but they may see their

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best knowledge ignored by the congressional committee that requests it, because some congressmen who have neither time nor inclination to examine the evidence have a "hunch" that the expert is wrong.

The resistance to applying scientific method to the solution of political problems yields all along the line. It does so inevitably, though with unhappy slowness, as practical political leaders come to realize that they cannot cope with unemployment or wage and price control or reconversion without help from economists, or with the control of subatomic energy without the help of physicists. But when the common-sense prejudice goes, it is often surreptitiously replaced by another conception of the rôle of the expert, which introduces him by the back door, so to speak, as a kind of necessary but disreputable character.

ENDS AND MEANS

The second way of conceiving the relation between "expert" and politician is based on the familiar, but troublesome, distinction between "ends" and "means." According to this view, the kind of knowledge an expert has is knowledge of means (of what to do in order to get certain results) but not of ends (of what results are desirable). Therefore, it is said, let the political leader, or representatives, decide, in the name of the people, what ends ought to be achieved, and let the scientific expert decide how to achieve them.

This division of labor is a natural device, and possesses a certain rough validity. The Town Council, or Board of Alderman, let us say, decides *whether* there is to be a bridge or not, and, if so, *where*—the consulting engineer decides what kind of bridge will be best for the given purpose; the two functions *seem* to be distinct. It is this theory, making some people responsible for ends and others for means, that underlies the administrative position of the expert in many branches of government today.

But a closer examination of the actual history of bridges (in those cases where the decision is wisely made), confirmed by a consideration of the process of deciding, in general, questions of means and ends, shows that the theory is false. It is to the credit of John Dewey, more than to any other single person, that we realize how questions of means and questions of ends are inextricably intermingled and cannot be separated in the way called for by the theory, without unfortunate consequences. The Town Council cannot, with reasonableness, decide definitely whether to have a bridge until they know how much it will cost, nor can they know the cost without knowing what kinds of bridges are available, and what their good and bad points are. Nor can they decide where to put it until the expert in traffic control has analyzed the whole situation; until the engineer has shown what kind of soil and foundation different kinds of bridges require, and where the geologists say this is to be found along the bank of the river. A great deal of technical information, from economics, meteorology, geology, sociology, civil engineering (information about *means*) enters into the decision about *ends,* and cannot wisely be excluded.

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The same is true if we start with so-called problems of means. Consider the engineer who has been told to build a bridge at such and such a spot. Which type shall it be? How permanent? How will it look? How expensive? How much traffic must it bear, and what kinds of traffic? As soon as he begins to ask what is the *best means,* he is really asking for more information about the various *ends* the bridge is to serve—the financial, aesthetic, communal, as well as commercial purposes which the bridge may fulfill. When he chooses the best means, he is really choosing between *ends,* and they may not be the ends desired by the political authority. He may wind up like the architect of one of our finest university libraries, who refused to deface his Gothic with anachronistic clocks, until the librarian threatened to buy them from the department-store. The architect was moved by the threat, but he won out in the end by placing his clocks so that either they cannot be seen or cannot be recognized as clocks. The point is, that when he did this he was certainly making a decision about ends.

The two questions, then, cannot be separated in this easy way and delegated to separate individuals. What will be required is, first, a constant interchange of consultation between engineer and Council, and, what is more important, the presence on the Council of men who are sufficiently expert in all the relevant matters to discuss the problem from all angles with all the relevant experts. This conclusion may be unwelcome, but I think we cannot escape it if we admit the principle that a governing body must be as scientific as it can be in making its decisions. The fullest responsibility of the body to its people requires that it include, in an official position, at least one man in every relevant field expert enough to bring expert knowledge about means, if you like, into the group-decisions about ends. Many congressmen realize this by specializing in various technical matters—and to some extent our system makes it likely that in Congress will be found men who were, before election, lawyers, doctors, business men, economists, engineers—perhaps even nuclear physicists. Certainly it would be a mistake to have no physicists on an International Control Board for Subatomic Energy, except in an "advisory" capacity!

EXPERTS ON TOP

It is the realization that experts must not, and cannot, merely advise, which has led some political thinkers to the third solution of the problem of the expert—the "government by expert" theory. According to this theory, experts must be integrated within the government itself, in official positions. And since I go a long way with this third theory, I should like to outline tentatively what seems to me a reasonable version of the rôle of the expert in government.

Though I agree with almost everything Professor Kraushaar said in the previous issue of *Forum* (July) about the dangers of the experts in government, my previous remarks imply a strong objection to what seems to be one implication of his article. When

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he says that experts must be "on tap," but not "on top," I cannot agree. To be "on tap" is to be turned on and off by someone else (I am not sure by whom, in his view), and if the expert has scientific knowledge relevant to a given problem, we must ensure as far as possible precisely that it is not turned off, but permitted to shed its fruitful stream. We must also ensure, of course, that other waters are mixed with it to the right blend. But I am not very clear, after reading Professor Kraushaar's article, just how far he would go in admitting experts into actual government positions. He seems to say that there is no limit, provided democratic control is kept (and with this I agree), but he also seems to say that the expert's very expertness unfits him for government decisions.

In this brief space I may be too dogmatic, but I should like to summarize one way of looking at the problem. First of all, I think we must agree with some of the things that Professor Kraushaar has to say about the limitations of the specialist. We are all familiar with the fine surgeon who is such a poor psychologist that in his dealings with patients he undoes his surgical skill by psychological ineptitude. We are familiar with the efficiency expert whose plans for arranging the benches of a shop in the most productive way come to grief because he has not taken into account the personal and social factors in the working environment of the men. And we are all too familiar with economists who examine the budget and monetary system of other countries, and pronounce an early doom upon their financial structure, in ignorance of the intense morbid or patriotic emotions which hold the system together long after, from a purely economic point of view, it is a failure. The expert is trained to recognize the factors that weigh in the correlations for which he is looking. Naturally, as a specialist, he weighs the factors he knows more than the ones he does not know, and his predictions and his recommendations are sometimes falsified by his lack of a general common-sense ability to balance diverse and incommensurable requirements. Hence electric-wiring systems that are models of electrical economy but impossible to read and iron and cook by. Hence housing-projects that are neatly and efficiently designed but take no advantage from sun or rain or natural surroundings.

FAULTY EDUCATION

But this, I believe, is not inherent in expertness, so much as in the educational system we have been using to create the experts. We have, in our colleges and technical schools, let specialization drift loose, with no anchor in the broad materials of general knowledge. We are only now, in the larger and in the more traditional colleges and universities, working out educational programs that radically limit the elective system under which specialization begot the narrow mind, and the "G" factor of judiciousness was lost from sight. This year and next we are seeing many interesting and important experiments in the theory of General Education, in which students will be grounded in some of the best experiences of history,

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philosophy, literature, physical and biological and social sciences, and helped to see the relations between all these fields of study, before they go on to become experts in a particular field. And we see various plans by which, even when the student concentrates in a special area, his eye will be constantly directed to the setting of his work in the whole organism of knowledge and in the social enterprise. With this humane education there is room for considerable hope that the coming generation of experts will be men and women of broader outlook and finer sensitivity to varied human values than the past. Knowing as little as we do, in a strictly scientific sense, about the actual effects of college or secondary education, we cannot be too self-assured about these experiments; but there is much to be tried.

When we consider governing, then, as an activity, we can expect a much more fruitful use of the expert than we have yet usually found. It is essential that all relevant scientific knowledge should be brought to bear upon all political problems. And the best way to do this is to have decisions made by group-discussion in committees. Not the old type of committee, with its hampering traditions, but the type of committee represented by that which produced the Acheson Report (see the very valuable article, "A Beginning for Sanity," by Cousins and Finletter, in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for June 15, 1946).

What is most important, perhaps, in the body (whether one person or many), that makes political decisions, is a certain balance of judgment, a certain ability to weigh and integrate and synthesize the relevant data. When the body is a committee, individual members can be individually expert, to a certain degree, in various fields, and they can, if they will, pool their knowledge in a really joint and democratic making up of minds. When the governing body is a single man, as a president, then we do not ask that he himself be an expert in any particular field; he cannot be an expert in everything, and he may be less balanced in his judgment if he is a specialist in a single field than if he is a specialist in none. Most important in him are those qualities of tact, humor, personal warmth, courage and intellectual integrity which keep him balanced and well-integrated, and preserve him from false pride, so that he will gather about him, and take seriously, the knowledge and experience of experts in every field relevant to his problems. Such a man is the ideal "amateur" of democracy.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

There seems, in principle, no reason for believing that experts cannot be brought into democratic government more and more, without loss of popular control. It has been doubted, of course. Certainly the admirable "alphas" of Aldous Huxley's hedonistic paradise—experts to the last degree—are not a government of the people, though, in their own light, they govern *for* the betas and the gammas. Nor are the venerable Chinese whom Mr. Shaw pictures as ruling the British Empire under a perfectly benevolent, be-

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cause utterly disinterested, despotism. Even "Allison", the socialist in Lowes Dickinson's *Modern Symposium,* who pleads vividly for the rule of "professional representatives", admits a difficulty here. But, under certain conditions, it seems to me as possible for people to make a choice between experts with regard to their expertness, as for them to choose between men with regard to the congeries of subtle qualities which will make them "good" governors or "good" senators. There are standards of expertness that can be applied by non-experts. The problem would be like that of choosing between doctors, or architects, or psychiatrists—and subject of course, to the same difficulties.

Three things are important, however, to make this suggestion work. One is so well stressed by Professor Kraushaar that I shall do no more than mention it. There is no limit to our need for accurate public information. Physicists have done an excellent job in making popularly available some fundamental ideas in a very technical subject; other specialists can do even more than they do now in making clear to laymen the essential principles on which they work. The second point is that we require, not so much that the *most* expert person be in a government post, as that we establish minimum standards below which he may not fall; objective qualifications that can be determined and specified. If a psychiatrist ran for Congress on the ground that he was a competent psychiatrist with a concern for the national welfare, we ought to be prepared to recognize that, simply on the ground of his professional capacity, he would be a useful addition to Congress.

Finally, we must never forget that keeping a democracy going is a full-time job for everybody. If the people are to rule, they must continually strive to acquire the knowledge that it takes to rule well. And they must master at least the basic principles of scientific thinking and apply these methods to their political decisions. In a democracy, hard as it may be, everyone has to be something of an expert himself.

• Horse sense: that state of mind that keeps horses from betting on people.

• A citizen of Tucson, Arizona, was dissatisfied with the way Tucson was responding to its salvage campaign. He purchased some big bins and placed them in strategic spots throughout the city, first labeling them "Waist Paper." He then had the local radio station urge the people to fill the bins.

The station was beseiged by telephone calls, telegrams and personal visitors charging the salvage committee with criminal spelling and worse. An army man said it was shameful in a cultural center housing the University of Arizona. A foreign refugee said it was a sign of moral deterioration. Tucson's teachers complained of getting anywhere with the school children when the City Fathers didn't know how to spell a simple one-syllable word.

BUT 60 per cent more waste paper was salvaged in Tucson than in any other campaign.

—*Net Results*

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A memorial to a great teacher

Friedrich Naumann

By Felix E. Hirsch

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A DEEP sense of personal loss was felt, even among those Germans who normally despised politicians, when the liberal leader Friedrich Naumann died suddenly on August 24, 1919. The sociologist Max Weber expressed the sentiments of many followers in all walks of life when he wrote to Naumann's widow: "The outstanding fact about him was that a man would keep his innermost strength of character in an age which was not ready for him. Either he came too early or too late. Be it as it may, it will be our imperishable possession that he was among us." Those were the loving words of a lifelong friend. But from many political camps came similar words of praise, a rare event in a period so full of passionate, partisan strife. There was no difference of opinion between Gustav Stresemann, who once had been Naumann's adherent, but now led the anti-republican People's Party, and the Socialist Paul Göhre. The president of the National Assembly, the Catholic Centrist Konstantin Fehrenbach, stated that the German parliament had lost its most brilliant speaker in Naumann, and added significantly: "He served mankind with his rich talents."

Affection and admiration did not diminish as the years went by. Proof of that was the growing literature which faithfully examined Naumann's life and teachings. It started with the excellent informal sketch by his old friend Martin Wenck (1920) and climaxed in the much more ambitious and comprehensive work of his close collaborator Theodor Heuss (1937). This book ranks with the finest German political biographies of the last generation; its author, by the way, was a courageous opponent of Nazism and is a leading figure in the reconstruction of Germany today. He is minister of education in Stuttgart. Naumann's sister Margarete and some of his friends, especially Gertrud Bäumer, added their intimate recollections to this literature. Surprisingly enough, American historians have paid scant attention to Naumann's personality and ideas. Unfortunately the only work of his which found a wide audience in the United States is his time-bound treatise, *Central Europe* (1915).

Naumann envisioned in this warbook a very close permanent association between the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg empires, supplemented by strong political and economic ties with the Turks and Bulgars. Although *Central Europe* had the greatest popular appeal of all his writings, it was certainly not his *magnum opus*. Like many other

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publications that owed their existence to the circumstances of war, it had no lasting significance. It is regrettable that an English scholar, Rohan D'O. Butler, who ran across the volume, included Naumann in his war-time survey, *The Roots of National Socialism* (New York, 1942). He came to this astounding conclusion: "It is apparent that Naumann crowned the long line of German expansionists and to some extent blended the aspirations of the pan-Germanists with those of the geopolitical school." But it hurt this writer even more, when Veit Valentin, an exiled German liberal historian, ventured to assert in his otherwise praiseworthy recent *History of the German People* (New York, 1946), that the National Social Association which Naumann founded in 1896 was part of the direct prehistory of Hitler's National Socialism. Valentin claims in a rather apodictic fashion: "Historically Friedrich Naumann is intermediate between Lassalle and Hitler." This is so bold an assumption that it deserves careful investigation.

What had been said about Gladstone: "First among his moral attributes must be placed his religiousness", applies even more strongly to his German fellow-liberal Friedrich Naumann. This Christian foundation of his whole life-work separated him from both Lassalle and Hitler; certainly the pious author of the *"Gotteshilfe"* (1902) and the pagan tyrant of the Third Reich lived in different worlds. Naumann's family background was largely theological. Young Friedrich, having finished his general education at the institute St. Afra in Meissen, decided to follow the family tradition and devoted himself to the study of theology. It was in those university days when he participated in founding the nationalist fraternity *Verein Deutscher Studenten,* that he first met the great demagogue, the court preacher Adolf Stoecker, who later became his powerful adversary.

PASTORAL CAREER

Naumann did not go into parish work at once. He spent two fruitful years in the *Rauhes Haus,* a model institution of the Protestant Home Mission in Hamburg. Its founder, Johann Hinrich Wichern, had died shortly before, but his spirit of true charity and human understanding was still alive and deeply impressed Naumann. He then became the minister of a small Saxonian community in which he had ample opportunity to observe the living conditions of his poor parishioners. He wondered how these working men could manage with a weekly wage of three or four marks and began to study the writings of Bebel, Lassalle, Marx and Engels. Out of his readings and his discussions with similar-minded friends grew his conviction that the Protestant Church had to strengthen its social program in order to meet the challenge of the age of industrialization. His first pamphlets and speeches on the subject aroused considerable discussion, in spite of their imperfections. Soon (1890) he exchanged the insignificant position of a village parson for that of a minister for the Home Mission Society in Frankfurt-on-Main.

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The road to activities on a nation-wide scale was open; at the age of 30, Naumann came into his own. He entered the political stage as a younger associate of Adolf Stoecker, then leader of the Christian-Social movement. But it soon became apparent that there was a deep cleavage between their convictions. Stoecker, though sincere in his reform efforts, wanted to go along with the Conservatives, and anti-Semitism was his stock in trade. Naumann aimed at a deeper insight into and a satisfactory solution of the whole social problem. He hoped to win the Socialists for the national state and, on the other hand, wished to help the proletariat in its struggle. *Jesus the Man of the People,* (1893), outlines in powerful and fascinating language his approach to the whole complex of religion for the workingmen. As for the Jewish question, he had nothing to do with Stoecker's vulgarities and told him bluntly: "After every new meeting with anti-Semites, I get more suspicious of them; many of those with whom I came in contact have no charity and little social understanding."

The parting of the ways between the two men became inevitable. Naumann began his long journey to the German Left. First he created a weekly journal, the *Hilfe,* in which he and his friends could freely express their opinions. This well-edited periodical was soon widely read. It forcefully continued its work of inspiration and information for two generations and preserved its independence of thought even in the early days of the Third Reich. Then Naumann founded the National Social Association (1896). Compared with the large political parties of the time, his was only a small group, but it attracted some of Germany's most illustrious minds: Max Weber, the economists Lujo Brentano and Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz, the theologians Adolf von Harnack and Otto Baumgarten, the legal scholar Rudolf Sohm, the historian Hans Delbrück. Many others backed the pioneering efforts of the new organization in some form. Among the enthusiastic young followers were also several leaders of the next generation. Gustav Stresemann, who was one of them, confessed many years later: "Naumann was then the great inspirer and awakener. How jubilantly did the young students support him in his fight against the narrowness and the boredom of German party politics!" Of the other young Naumann followers, Carl Petersen and Erich Koch-Weser later headed the Democratic party. Gottfried Traub played a rôle among the German Nationalists; Max Maurenbrecher, temporarily, and Paul Göhre found their way to the Social Democrats. Paul Rohrbach and Hellmuth von Gerlach became noted independent political writers, and Adolf Damaschke made a name for himself as father of the land reform movement. Regardless of their later party affiliations, most of them never wavered in their personal affection for Naumann.

In many ways, the seven years during which Naumann tried to build up the National Social Association against heavy odds, were the happiest of his life. With the help of his friends he was able to develop

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a program which seemed to suit Germany's needs at the turn of the century. It may be summed up best in his own words: "Allegiance to the nation and improvement of the living conditions of the masses are for me but two aspects of the same thing." He and his followers heartily endorsed a modern-minded monarchy, a strong navy and an active colonial policy. On the other hand, they supported the just claims of the working class. They publicly expressed their sympathy for the longshoremen in Hamburg, who struck against their stubborn employers. Naumann disregarded the insults which were heaped on him by the reactionaries for his pro-labor attitude. On two occasions, at the elections of 1898 and 1903, the National Social Association presented its candidates to the voters in certain carefully selected districts. The success was very meager indeed. The members of the third estate whom Naumann had hoped to win over from the Social Democrats, did not come, and, with the intelligentsia alone, one does not win battles at the polls. After the disheartening defeat of 1903, Naumann decided to dissolve the Association and joined many of his friends in the Liberal Union (*Freisinnige Vereinigung*) which offered shelter to the National Socials.

In these seven years Naumann's literary talents reached their maturity; he never surpassed the mastership of his early books. We mentioned the *Gotteshilfe,* that unique collection of simple yet beautiful religious reflections, which will still be admired long after all his other writings may be forgotten. The University of Heidelberg deservedly bestowed on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity for this book, in which he had preached the Gospel to our age in a new language. He supplemented the *Gotteshilfe* with his *Letters about Religion* (1903) in which, Harnack said, he remained faithful to his genius. His political convictions were most forcefully presented in *Democracy and Empire* (1900). It was then his deepest longing to bridge the abyss which separated the masses from the Hohenzollern emperor, but some years later his hopes began to falter when he appraised the dilettantism of William II more soberly. His economic and social credo was laid down in the *New German Economic Policy* (first version, 1902). Both brilliantly written works exerted a strong influence on a whole generation of the German educated class and went through many editions. Finally, Naumann also tried the field of travel literature. His was a thirst for knowledge which could not be satisfied from only one source. His interests embraced history and economics (how thoroughly did he study the statistical handbooks!) as well as industrial design, the fine arts, religion and political science.

It has been sometimes argued that Friedrich Naumann came into strange company when he merged his National Socials with one of the liberal groups. Did he really belong among the Progressives? What could these defenders of radical individualism, these old fashioned Manchester men mean to him? Perhaps the deep resignation of 1903 had

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induced him to make his decision too hastily? Probably Naumann's step was justified in the long run. Left-wing liberalism offered him a wider forum, and some of its leading figures such as Karl Schrader, Theodor Barth and Conrad Haussmann were not so far away from his own line of thought. Eugen Richter, the one man to whom he hardly would have found any access, belonged to another branch of liberalism and died in 1906, before all the Progressives united. (See my article, "Bismarck's Enemy", in *Forum,* June, 1946).

REICHSTAG

As a liberal candidate, Naumann was at long last elected to the Reichstag in 1907. But a tremendous disappointment was in store for him. There was little that a newcomer could do in the Reichstag, particularly if he belonged to the Left. He could make speeches off and on, perhaps work in minor committees; the most important assignments, however, were reserved for the inferior old *routiniers* of whom the liberal groups had plenty. Stresemann, who also entered parliament in 1907, remembered the striking impression that Naumann's maiden speech made: "His thoughts were formed into great powerful images. His words carried him away, and soon he addressed the nation instead of the Reichstag, mankind instead of the nation." Naumann tried to prepare for a political grouping that might someday replace the Conservatives and Catholic Centrists in the control of the government. His slogan was the "bloc from Bebel to Bassermann", i.e., a combination of Social Democrats, Progressives and National Liberals. That seemed then like mere phantasy to the so-called realists, but his prophecy finally came true, with some modification.

The more threatening clouds appeared on the European horizon, the more Naumann worked for international understanding. He visited London in 1912. There he exchanged views with prominent British liberals and pacifists and was deeply impressed by their argumentation. In the spring of 1914, he attended a meeting of the members of the French and German parliaments in Basel and made friends with Jean Jaurès, the great leader of the French Socialists. "The conference was a success", he wrote home. But two months later Jaurès was murdered, and the world conflagration had begun.

Friedrich Naumann was deeply moved and satisfied when on August 4, 1914, the Social Democrats dropped their opposition and voted for the war credits: "The national hopes of the German idealists," he proudly stated, "are fulfilled in the thunderstorm of the European war . . . This day will be unforgettable for those who lived to see it." However, he was worried almost from the outset about the probable outcome of the war. Theodor Heuss, in his biography, reports a very revealing conversation he had with Naumann in January, 1915. At that time he had already prophesied that there would be no German victory. But he tried to do his share, nevertheless, as one would expect of any ardent patriot in any country. *Central Europe* was not an attempt to create an expansionist super-

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structure, as his enemies and superficial critics believed it to be, but an effort to make the most of an emergency situation. Germany's imperialistic era was over, he said to Heuss. She had to retire to her continental European position and to return to Bismarck's tradition. This was what he wanted to explain to the public. The book was a singular literary success. No German political work since Bismarck's memoirs equaled its sales. The Austrians were overjoyed, but some sceptics at home soon doubted the feasibility of the project, and allied propagandists cleverly used the main thesis of the book for their own purposes.

DEMOCRAT

Next to working feverishly for the realization of his Central Europe idea, Naumann wished to see his dream of a German democracy fulfilled. He supported the domestic policy of the Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, who became his personal friend, but he urged emperor and government again and again to give the people their due; to introduce sweeping reforms, as long as there was still time for voluntary gestures from above. As the situation at the military front grew more threatening, Naumann became more insistent. He even went to see General Ludendorff, then the semi-dictator of the country. When, finally in the summer of 1918, the authorities listened to reason, it was too late; the war was lost and the home front was about to collapse. Although the last imperial chancellor, Prince Max von Baden, had originally planned to include Naumann in his government, the liberal leader did not receive the opportunity of active statesmanship. A suggestion of Count Brockdorff-Rantzau to make him undersecretary of foreign affairs did not materialize either.

Naumann, who at an earlier stage of the war still pondered *"The Rôle of the Emperor in the People's State"* (1917), felt obliged in October, 1918, to urge William II to abdicate. He and the crown-prince should do so as soon and as spontaneously as possible, in the best interest of crown and country. It was for the author of *Democracy and Empire* a harsh obligation to present this suggestion which, unfortunately, was not heeded. Naumann passed the day of the revolution at the front in Belgium. On November 10, he was in the headquarters at Spa where he met General Groener, Ludendorff's successor. He promised Groener to work, on his return, for close collaboration between the new Ebert government and the high command of the army. Naumann's own political plans for the future were as yet undecided. After some hesitation, he became a member of the newly formed Democratic party in which the progressive elements of the bourgeoisie found their home and which also attracted many of his old national social friends. Naumann headed the democratic list in Berlin and threw himself with all his vigor into the campaign, although his health was failing. (He had lived on rations during the war and literally starved.)

In the National Assembly in Weimar, he saw his function less in

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speech-making than in constructive work. He served as a member of the Constitutional committee and exerted a strong influence in this distinguished body. It was primarily due to his efforts that a long catalogue of the rights of man was included in the Weimar constitution. His advice on religious and school matters was heard. He did not, however, succeed in his efforts to prevent the introduction of proportional representation which he considered detrimental to the future of German democracy. While he was concentrating on constitutional problems, the news of the proposed peace terms fell on him like a bombshell. He felt there was no other way out except rejection. On the evening of the day on which the National Assembly had solemnly demonstrated against the conditions of peace, I saw Naumann for the last time. He came to the *Staatsbürgerschule* (an educational institution of a new type, which he had founded with the help of his friend Ernst Jaeckh and which later developed into the German School of Politics) and reported there to a dozen of his students about the outcome of the meeting. Naumann looked aged and tired; his listeners felt that this had been one of the saddest days of his life. About two weeks later he suffered a collapse from which he barely recovered.

Yet there was one triumph reserved for him. If government office had been denied to him, at least his political friends honored him in a singular fashion. The delegates at the first Democratic convention elected him party chairman in a spontaneous demonstration, although his name had not been on the official list of candidates. Now, at last, he was head of a large and powerful political body. But before he could start out on the work of party organization, death called him with violent suddenness. Like so many of the best Germans of his generation, he had consumed all his energies in the service of his country during the war years, and the horrible aftermath had undermined his last strength. The heavily built man who once looked like the picture of health, did not even reach the age of 60.

"He was a lamp that shineth and burneth." Naumann's old friend, the theologian Adolf Deissmann, built his deeply moving funeral oration around these words from the Gospel according to St. John. Twenty-seven years have passed since then. The Germany of Friedrich Naumann is no more. Many stars of my youth have fallen, but the grateful memory of this great political teacher remains unalterable. It is one of life's treasures to have known him and to have learned from him. Somehow it is hard to bear that the same nation to whose progress Friedrich Naumann dedicated his life, would ever have accepted the diabolic leadership of Adolf Hitler. What a horrifying change from the lofty ideals of the National Social Association to the barbarous actions of the National Socialist Party!

• "Make up your mind before you make up your face."—Advice of Perc Westmore to women who would be beautiful.

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The time is ripe
to limit Senate debate

Facing the Filibuster

By Julius and Lillian Cohen

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DESPITE the warning by one of the most esteemed diagnosticians of the American Commonwealth that filibustering in the Senate is not unlike one of the "maladies (which) assail the human body with advancing age", the "chronic ailment", as Lord Bryce puts it, still persists. But equally persistent are the views of those who regard the filibuster not as a patho-political disease, but as a life-giving element in the American legislative bloodstream. In one respect, the filibuster is not unlike the atomic bomb, for no sooner was its potential power revealed than it provoked endless discussion. Some of the country's most distinguished public servants and students of government heralded it as a weapon of freedom: others denounced it as an instrument for frustrating democratic government. Prompted by the recent defeat of the Fair Employment Practices Bill and the near defeat in the Senate of the English Loan Bill by the threat of a filibuster, a movement to provide for effective limitation of debate in the Senate is gaining momentum. How desirable is such a move? What issues are involved? How may they be resolved?

Prior to 1917, a single Senator had it within his power to prevent the passage of a bill which had the approval of the majority in the House and Senate. This was made possible by the then existing Senate rules which permitted a Senator to prevent a measure from coming to a vote merely by monopolizing discussion on the floor—discussion even without relevancy to the issue. The only check upon this power was the extent of the filibusterer's physical stamina. Obviously, the more sympathizers on his side, the greater the total physical resources and the greater the opportunity for success in paralyzing legislation desired by a majority of both houses. It was the action of such a "little group of willful men" in 1917 which, in President Wilson's terms, rendered the "great government of the United States helpless and contemptible," and provoked a movement for a change in the Senate rules. Today, the Senate rules make it possible for debate to be closed, but it requires the votes of at least two-thirds of a quorum. A little group of "willful men"—one plus one-third of a Senate quorum—can still paralyze legislation desired by a majority in the House and Senate.

At least two major arguments have been advanced in defense of this system. The first is the view that, as between majority rule and minority rights, the latter should prevail. This was voiced by Senators Tydings and Russell in the

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debate on the Fair Employment Practices Bill—the former taking the view that "majority to Hades . . . let us not fool ourselves with the silly thought that majorities are always right"; the latter contending that "the rules of the Senate were not designed to help the majority of Senators. They were designed to protect the rights of the minority." These are but variations of the theme of "tyranny of the majority" which was voiced earlier in the Federalist Papers and in the commentaries of the French aristocrat, De Tocqueville, in his *Democracy in America.* But the present plan of representation in the Senate was a result of a compromise with those forces which feared government by a majority of the people. There is nothing in history to indicate that the compromise was also meant to encompass the rules for conducting business in the Senate. Were it intended that the will of the majority of Senators was not to prevail, the rules would have provided that when the Senators are divided in their views, the votes of the minority shall be controlling. And if it can be assumed that it was not intended so to protect the minority of Senators by such a direct means, upon what basis is it to be assumed that such an end was to be accomplished by indirection, i.e., by filibustering? The purpose of any systematization of conduct is to eliminate waste motion and disorderliness, not to encourage it, and the systematization of legislation, by the adoption of rules of parliamentary procedure, is no exception. The inherent purpose of establishing such rules, e.g., those governing the time when bills may be brought up, who may obtain the privilege of the floor and when a vote may be taken, is to systematize the business of government, to make it more efficient, and not to hinder it in its operations. The history of the Senate rules reveals a progressive tendency to curb unbridled freedom in the Senate in the interest of greater efficiency in lawmaking. For example, under present rules, a motion to adjourn and an amendment to a third reading of a bill are not debatable; a Senator is not permitted to speak more than twice on any one question during the same legislative day; continuous roll calls for dilatory purposes may not be made—the rule being that there must be intervening business before another roll call is permitted; and Senators yielding the floor for quorum calls will lose the floor. Inherent in these restrictions is the recognition that lines must be drawn to hold discussion on legislative measures within reasonable bounds —otherwise legislative machinery will break down. It is the recognition that beyond these lines discussion is transformed from a method of enlightenment and persuasion to one of obstruction. For a Senate minority to accept these limitations is no more an unreasonable curb on its liberties than would be an ordinance limiting the length of time one may park his car on a busy thoroughfare. Both are a means of avoiding congestion, of systematizing and making more efficient the activities of day to day business.

To be sure, in a democracy, rules for efficient government must be tempered with consideration of the rights of the minority. But in con-

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sidering such rights, one must distinguish between "rights" which obstruct the will of the majority and "rights" which provide the opportunity for a full airing of minority views—an airing aimed at *persuading* the majority not to follow a certain course of action. No believer in the principles of democratic government would deny the latter version of "rights" to the minority. But to permit full opportunity for persuasion to grow into an instrument of intentional obstruction is to endorse the principle of rule by minority. The right of a minority to stifle legislation by unlimited debate is, in essence, no different in principle from the right of members of a minority political party to postpone the election of the President of the United States because they believe the choice of the majority to be wrong; or the right of minority stockholders of a corporation to prevent the execution of a policy desired by the majority but opposed by the minority; or the right of dissenting members of the Supreme Court to prevent the issuance of an opinion of the majority with which they are at odds. Yet those who would deny the right of the minority to thwart the will of the majority in such cases still, strangely enough, insist on adherence to such a principle of minority rights in conducting the business of the Senate.

By permitting unlimited debate in the Senate, and requiring 66⅔ per cent of a quorum to terminate it, a meager 34 per cent are thereby enabled to do to ordinary legislative measures what they may rightfully do only to a treaty. It, in effect, gives a handful of Senators the same power over vetoing legislation as is entrusted to the President. These results certainly were never contemplated under any reasonable interpretation of the Constitution. The dangers of such a system were long ago recognized by Alexander Hamilton in No. XXII of the Federalist Papers. It was his view that:

"The necessity of unanimity in public bodies, or something approaching towards it, has been founded upon a supposition that it would contribute to security. But its real operation is to embarrass the administration, to destroy the energy of the government, and to substitute the pleasure, caprice, or artifices of an insignificant, turbulent, or corrupt junto, for the regular deliberations and decisions of a respectable majority. In those emergencies of a nation, in which the goodness or badness, the weakness or strength of its government is of the greatest importance, there is commonly a necessity for action. The public business must, in some way or other, go forward."

MINORITY ERRS

Granted that the majority may at times commit errors of judgment it does not follow that wisdom always is lodged in a minority. Error, being no respecter of numbers, either large or small, there would appear to be no valid reason why an erring majority may not be accorded the privilege of mending its ways by corrective legislation. Professor George H. Haynes, author of the current two volume work on *The Senate,* defends the principle of unlimited debate on the ground that "closure by vote of a chance majority in the

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Senate would have brought many a decision which would have accorded ill with the sober second thought of the American people." But is the principle of majority rule to be sacrificed on the mere *possibility* that the minority's judgment *may* turn out to be right? Are we, moreover, to assume that the defeat of such legislation as the Force Bill of 1891, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill of 1922, the Fair Employment Practices Bill of 1946—all of which would have passed by large majorities but for the filibuster—was for the best interest of the country merely because the minority thought so? Are we to take seriously the challenge by Senator Russell who, during the debate on the Fair Employment Practices Bill, defied "any member of the Senate to go back through the pages of the history of this body and point to one piece of legislation ever defeated by a filibuster which was really material to the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the people of the United States?" Who is the judge of the "welfare, happiness and prosperity of the people of the United States?"

As a second reason, the defenders of the present Senate rules urge that further restriction on the freedom of debate will transform the Senate from a deliberative body to a rubber stamp for the particular party in power. Such spokesmen as Senator Norris attributed the failure of the House of Representatives to achieve the status of a great legislative body to the fact that it has placed severe restrictions upon debate. But this does not necessarily mean that the Senate has reached its peak of efficiency, nor that its efficiency cannot be increased without sacrificing the freedom of deliberation. The indicia of inefficiency in the Senate are legion. The rule in Jefferson's Manual that "no one is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluously or tediously" was early flouted, despite the professed deference of the Senate to the Manual as a guide to parliamentary procedure. One need only point to the countless instances in which appropriations and other urgent measures have, out of necessity, been passed without even a careful reading—let alone deliberation—merely because the time which should have been consumed for their consideration was devoted to a reading of *Childe Harold* or *Alice in Wonderland* by a determined minority on the Senate floor. One need only point to the countless measures which never would have seen the light of legislative day but for the fact that they were extorted from a reluctant majority in exchange for a promise by a Senator to forego the privilege of dilatory debate. Moreover, it is possible to tighten the rules of debate without sacrificing the freedom necessary for deliberation—witness the experience of the English House of Commons and of the States, the overwhelming number of which permit a majority to bring proposed legislation to a vote. There is, of course, the danger that the majority in power might cut off legitimate debate, and thus deprive the opposition of the opportunity of airing its views. The value of legitimate discussion cannot be overemphasized, for as Elihu Root once remarked: ". . . . . every speech is going to the country . . . every hour

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passed is calling the attention of the country to the measure. The people of the United States begin to consider, begin to read, begin to discuss, and gradually week by week they form their opinions, and their opinions find their way back here." But there is no reason why rules cannot be framed to assure the minority ample opportunity to air their views without distorting the principle of majority rule. For example, a proposal once urged by the elder Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, and gaining momentum on Capitol Hill today, would empower the majority to fix the time for vote on any measure that has been before the Senate for, say, 30 days. With all of the available modern channels for reaching the public and crystallizing opinion, the minority could scarcely complain of being deprived of any legitimate rights. Such a proposal should go far to allay the apprehensiveness of those who, with Professor Lindsay Rogers, have defended the filibuster on the ground that it serves as a healthy check upon the executive branch of the government. True, majority closure, without further check, would make it possible for a strong executive to stifle criticism and forestall investigations by arranging with party leaders in the Senate to cut off discussions by the opposition. But 30 days should provide ample time for focussing the spotlight of critical opinion upon the executive branch of the government.

Without venturing into the reasons for establishing the principle of unlimited debate in the Senate rules of 1806, it cannot be gainsaid that the size of the present body, the scope and sheer quantity of legislative grist in the Senate of 1946 suggest a major need for the re-tailoring of the rules. Nor is the two-thirds rule, established by the Senate of 1917, a proper fit, for the procedure whereby 33 out of 96 Senators are able to thwart and thereby control the business of the Senate is more in the nature of a strait jacket than a business suit for the majority.

The time is ripe for change. And if the experience of such stalwarts as Woodrow Wilson, Charles W. Dawes, George Wharton Pepper is to be a gauge, it will not be without bitter struggle. For it means an attack on the vested power of a determined minority who, in the struggle, certainly can be counted on to avail themselves of the very intrument the majority hopes to destroy.

• A young hopeful walked into an automobile showroom to look at the latest streamlined model. He turned to the clerk and asked: "If I bought this car on the installment plan, how long would it take me to pay for it?"

"Well," replied the clerk, "that would depend on how much you could afford each month."

"I think I could manage three dollars a month", the boy ventured.

The salesman gasped. "Why at that rate, it would take 100 years."

"So what?", the young man shouted enthusiastically. "It's worth it."

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A discussion of their rights

Unionization of Government Employees

By Mary Katharine Strong

WITHIN the last five months a number of events have served to focus attention on the status of public employees. Discussion usually revolves around their right or lack thereof to collective bargaining and to employ the means used by their fellow-workers in private industry to achieve their ends. Such occurrences as the "strike against the government" when the coal mines and railroads were seized and the recent formation of the United Public Workers of America, C.I.O., bring into the limelight the thorny problem of the position of those who work for the government.

At the outset it should be recognized that there are certain fundamental differences between public employees and those who work for private concerns. In private business one usually finds management on one side of the fence and labor on the other. The fundamental dispute centers on how much of the earnings should go to the workers.

In public enterprises, however, wages are not paid out of earnings; they come from appropriations. Neither do they depend on earnings; they are usually fixed by a legislative body often governed by many considerations other than the amount of revenue which the service renders. The division of power in our government thus serves to distinguish sharply the position of state workers from private employees. It patently does no good to bring pressure on the management of a service if it is unable to effect the desired change.

The position of the public is also important. The disinterested person may be glad to see a much-needed wage increase for a private worker, letting the employer and perhaps ultimately the consumer meet the burden of the pay raise. But when it becomes apparent that a salary boost for a public worker will mean immediate tax (or subway fare) increases, then the vast majority of the community fights this threat to its pocketbook. This, combined with the general public aversion to bureaucracy in general, makes the path of the public servant indeed hard.

Also, since the salaries of civil servants come largely from taxes, and since many organized pressure groups have as a main purpose the reduction of taxes, public servants are helpless unless they too are organized.

The supreme difference between the two groups, however, lies in the fact that the public worker is employed by an entity acting in a dual capacity—as an employer and as a sovereign. Active rebellion against unjust conditions in private industry

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shows, in the public mind, courage and American individualism; rebellion against similar conditions of employment in the government is considered by the same people to approach treason.

In addition, the public employee in a very real legal sense is not on the same footing as employees in private industry. The National Labor Relations Act specifically excludes him from its protection, as do most "little Wagner" acts of the states.

PLIGHT OF PUBLIC WORKERS

Given these differences, do public workers have legitimate grievances? The answer is an emphatic "yes." During the last century, their working conditions were often intolerable, and while this situation has changed on the federal level, the same cannot always be said about the local level. Their pay, especially in the state and municipal services, lags far behind that received by their brothers in private employ, and few people seem interested in their complaints. In a formal opinion, when the War Labor Board decided that it did not have jurisdiction in a dispute between a state and a group of its employees, the Board said:

"It is rather an interesting commentary that the people of this country, acting through their elected representatives, have imposed, during recent years, such relatively high standards of labor conditions upon private industry, but at the same time have maintained such low standards in public service."

The obvious solution to the problem seemed to lie along lines followed by private workers: organization. Yet the unionization of government employees has been far behind that of other workers, and has been constantly resisted by government officials. And, unlike most movements in this country, it started on the federal level and is only now gradually becoming strong in state and local governments.

In the United States there have been three rather distinct types of unions of government employees. The first of them, among the skilled and semi-skilled men exercising their trade for the government, arose very early and did not cause too much discussion. The regular craft unions, normally affiliated with the A.F.L., draw no distinction between private and public members.

The second type is the service union, usually comprising a group who perform functions of the government, such as teachers and postal workers. The first strictly public service unions emerged largely as a result of the intolerable working conditions of the time. These were the various postal unions, the first of which was formed in 1889.

Outside of the craft and special service unions, however, is the organization of government employees as such, the third type of union. This did not come about until the First World War.

The immediate cause for unionization in 1917 was the failure of federal salaries to keep pace with the increased cost of living. The final straw came with the 1917 appropriation bill which sought to put workers on an eight-hour day, from their present seven hours, with no compensating pay boost. The dominant thought became "in union there is strength", and the National

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Federation of Federal Employees, A.F.L., was formed. The acute need for this organization can be seen by the fact that in 1921 its membership numbered 60,000.

The most recent chapter in the history of public service unions opened in April, 1946. At an Atlantic City convention, the delegates of the two C.I.O. unions—United Federal Workers of America and State, County and Municipal Workers of America—with a combined membership of 73,140, voted to join forces. The new organization, the United Public Workers of America, will be larger than any of the 17 A.F.L. and independent unions which represent federal, state and local employees. The aim of the new group, the only organization open to all types of public workers, will be to organize a large percentage of the estimated 5,000,000 government employees. One of the main points in the new U.P.W.A. program is action to broaden the N.L.R.A. to protect all classes of government employees.

The possibility of jurisdictional strife now looms large in this field. Because of a pro-Russian, anti-United States foreign policy resolution which the U.P.W.A. adopted and its position on the right to strike, William Green instantly charged that the new union was un-American and communist-dominated. The U.P.W.A. countered with criticisms of the "red-baiting" policies of the A.F.L. and called upon the A.F.L. unions of government workers to enter the C.I.O. No great rush, however, seems on to accept this invitation.

What is the position of these unions? What rights do government workers have regarding organization, collective bargaining and strikes? What is the attitude of government officials to these questions? All the answers are by no means clear, especially on the local level, but gradually a theory of rights and limitations is being hewed out by court decision and actual practice.

At first even the federal government denied its workers the opportunity of organization. When the unionization of postal employees was a fact, President Theodore Roosevelt issued an executive order in 1902 prohibiting all United States employees, individually or through association, "to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interests any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of the departments . . ." The order was further strengthened in 1909 by President Taft, who forbade any federal worker to reply to any congressional request for information except through the department head.

The turning point came in 1912 with the Lloyd-LaFollette Act, which gave federal employees the right to organize and present their demands to congress.

On the local level, however, a more confused situation exists concerning rights of organization and collective bargaining. This was well attested by the Rochester general strike on May 28, 1946 . The dispute began when the city, on May

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15, abolished 489 jobs in the Public Works Department when the workers involved tried to form a union affiliated with the A.F.L.'s Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Workers began to picket peacefully the public works building. These pickets, some 268, were rushed off to jail, in some cases even before they had reached their picket posts. As an additional slap in the face to the unionization efforts, the city re-established some 200 of the abolished jobs and hired other people to fill them.

Even when the general strike became imminent, the city manager refused to meet with the union. The general strike was over quickly, but still in doubt is the question of who won. The city administration granted employees the right to join any organization if it is loyal to the United States and unwilling to strike against the public good. The union, however, felt that the right of organization without the right of collective bargaining was a shallow victory. They had wanted the flat recognition from the city that it had to bargain collectively with its workers.

The attitude which the city administration took on this point is typical of the point of view adopted by many other municipalities. It maintained that since the National Labor Relations Act and the New York act specifically exempted government workers from its protection, such action on the part of public servants is illegal. In reality, the interpretation of this exemption has usually been that such workers may organize and bargain collectively if they wish, but that the government is not prevented from resisting these efforts.

In any event, the Rochester administration finally agreed to a compromise: it would meet with its employees or committees of them, and the employees were entitled to representation by counsel. This, however, would seem to leave the union officials out in the cold. Evidence that the city has not changed its original stand can be seen by a speech made the following week by Rochester's Commerce Commissioner. He said that the city would not enter into any agreement with any union, that outsiders could not represent city employees. He declared that if the city entered into any agreement with unions it "might well be encouraging a suit from an objecting taxpayer".

Another recent instance of city resistance to unionization could be seen in February, when 700 municipal workers of Houston, Texas, went out on strike over the issue of recognition when the mayor refused to meet with union officials.

The Institute of Municipal Law Officers has stoutly maintained that a city cannot enter into a labor contract without express enabling laws giving it this power. Said the Institute in 1940: "Cities are creatures of limited power, having only those specifically delegated by constitution, charter and statute, and power to sign such collective bargaining agreements has not been expressly delegated to cities, except in a very limited way by the State of Washington."

This view, however, has been very much disputed. Courts have generally held that cities also have

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implied and necessary powers to carry out their duties, and the authority to sign labor contracts would seem to be analogous to its implied power to sign other forms of contracts in the course of performing its functions.

The Institute also maintains that the wording of the "little Wagner" acts make such collective bargaining impossible, and, further, that the right to strike is inherent in all collective bargaining (a questionable premise), and since workers cannot strike against the government, the city has no right to enter into such agreements.

Yet it cannot be denied that there is a difference between collective bargaining in the public and private realms. The late President Roosevelt, in his famous letter in 1937 to the President of the American Federation of Government Employees, acknowledged that the organization of federal workers to preserve their views on wages and working conditions was justified and appropriate, but he added this significant observation:

All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. It has its distinct and insurmountable limitations when applied to public personnel management. The very nature and purposes of Government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with the Government employee organizations. The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by representatives in Congress. Accordingly, administrative officials and employees alike are governed and guided, and in many instances, restricted, by laws which establish policies, procedures or rules in personnel matters.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

The hard nut to crack in any discussion of the unionization of public employees is their right or lack thereof to strike.

Before rising to the theoretical plane, the hard fact remains that, right or no right, government employees have struck, and there is little indication that in our time they will cease to do so. Since the first instance in 1839, when employees of the Philadelphia Navy Yard struck in their demand for a 10-hour day, public workers have often gone out on strike. Up to 1940, in a period of 125 years, there have been 1116 government strikes. Within the last six months this country has had the threatened strike of subway workers in New York, the Rochester general strike, the Houston strike, the Scranton strike of Public Works Employees, the bus strike in Detroit and the strike of garbage collectors in Yonkers. But with the exception of the Boston police strike in 1919, these disputes cannot hold a candle, measured either in violence or duration, to the conflicts that have occurred in private industry.

In the Roosevelt letter, part of which is quoted above, the President went on to say:

Upon employees in the Federal service rests the obligation to serve the whole people, whose interests and welfare require orderliness and continuity in the conduct of government activities. The obligation is paramount. Since their own services

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have to do with the functioning of the Government, a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operation of Government until their demands are satisfied. Such action, looking toward the paralysis of Government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable.

Most public employees have a great deal of hesitency about going out on strike, and it usually takes some great provocation to drive them to it. The constitutions of practically all union charters of public employees specifically renounce the right to strike.

The attitude of the new C.I.O. United Public Workers of America is a little different. Its constitution re-iterates the clause contained in the two former constitutions declaring that legislation, negotiation and education rather than strikes shall be the basic means to be employed. But this does not outlaw strikes; it only leaves them as an instrument to be used when all else fails. The constitution makes locals seek authorization from the union president for the calling of strikes when all other means have been tried unsuccessfully. The Atlantic City convention of the new union, in an effort to mitigate this tacit renunciation of no strikes against the government, approved a constitutional provision declaring that it would not be the policy of the union to engage in strikes.

President Truman has stated that the only long-term restriction he wishes placed on labor's right to strike is a specific congressional enactment prohibiting government workers from striking. Apparently he is going to get his wish. On June 1 as a rider to an Agricultural Department appropriation bill, the Senate unanimously passed a bill providing that no funds of the bill should be used to pay the salary of any employee belonging to an organization of government workers "that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States."

Similar provisions have been put into appropriation bills for the post office, the Army and the Navy.

Those claiming that public employees have no right to strike usually give one of two reasons for this stand. The first one is the contention that the strike will interrupt vital public services and harm the welfare of the community, and the example of the police and firemen springs instantly to mind. Yet save for a few special instances, this argument is rather weak. Consider the recent crippling strikes in the last eight months in General Motors, United States Steel, Westinghouse, soft coal and the railroads. Certainly these walk-outs in private industry hurt the public more than the one-day demonstration strike of New Jersey school teachers. A strike of clerks in the Interior Department would be as nothing compared to a strike of milkmen.

These arguing that public servants have no right to strike are on firmer ground when they base their contention on the fact that a strike against the government is an attack upon that government's sovereignty, and no group in our society has the right to hinder the legal authorities from pursuing the activities which the people have entrusted to the government.

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The problem is that when the state denies its workers the right to strike merely because they are government employees, it defines common labor disputes as attacks upon the public authority and makes use of the most drastic discipline, and armed force becomes a method of handling an otherwise simple industrial relation. Some observers view with definite alarm the fact that an expanding public service will mean a "creeping totalitarian" trend as a larger and larger section of working population is obliged to surrender its ultimate right to strike as a consequence of public employment. It is felt that the labor movement might, to preserve its freedom, resist expansion of government activity, thus creating a disintegrating social trend by rendering government ineffective to meet the problems of the time. Such a consequence of no right to strike might be an infinitely greater threat to our society than a possibility of a labor dispute which might result in a temporary interruption of some government service.

The answer to a large extent seems to lie in the establishment of machinery within national, state and local departments to handle grievances, mediate disputes and give the employees a fair chance to secure their reasonable demands without striking. In most cases governmental units have been very lax about this phase of personnel management. The much-publicized labor relations of the T.V.A. in this country and the Whitley Councils in Great Britain might in the long run point to the solution, and make academic any discussion of the right of civil servants to strike.

• Experience is a dead loss if you cannot sell it for more than it cost you.

—*Northwestern National News*

• The National Kraut Packers have hired a press agent to raise the social level of sauerkraut. (We suggest that they might lower the olfactory level first.)

• A patient had over-eaten and, suffering from distress, went to see his doctor. "Do you think the trouble is in the appendix?" he asked the doctor anxiously.

"Oh, no", the doctor replied, "not at all. The trouble is with your table of contents."

—*Canadian Doctor*

• The bishop was coming to visit school and all the little boys were warned to call him "My Lord." The bishop singled out John, a shy lad, and asked: "Well, my little man, how old are you?"

"Oh, my God," John gulped, "I'm seven."

• "Oh, mother," the sweet young thing sighed. "I love him so, he's the man for me. When he takes me in his arms, I can hear his heart beating."

"Huh," snorted the mother. "Don't let him fool you . . . your father fooled me after the first war with a dollar watch in his breast pocket."

—*Capper's Weekly*

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It's up to the citizen
to help the mentally ill

"Bedlam's" Answer

By Alice B. McGinty

THE national community has been shocked by the revelation in word and picture of "Bedlam, 1946." Walter Lerch of the *Cleveland Press* and Dr. Dores R. Sharpe, executive secretary of the Cleveland Baptist Association, buttressed by affidavits and pictures gathered by the conscientious objectors assigned to the Cleveland State Hospital, first ripped the curtain of administrative incompetence and public indifference behind which 567,423 citizens were brutalized, starved and denied access to the treatments that research has developed for the mentally ill. The national conscience has been subjected to a relentless parade of fact by the local press, *Life* (May 6) and *The Reader's Digest* (July). We can no longer avoid the horror that has been an ever present reality to some of the mentally ill nor plead ignorance. Our mental institutions are as Clifford Beers found them in 1908. The lag between the discovery of new treatments and their application to those in need is criminal. With mental illness striking one family in five and mental deficiency, one in seventeen, the cost in human misery and dollars and cents runs into incalculable millions.

As the initial waves of repulsion recede, we ask, "Who is to blame?" The state institutions, superintendants, psychiatrists, nurses, attendants? The record is their indictment. But the ultimate "Why?" points the finger of responsibility directly at us. We have sanctioned our own Buchenwalds. We have failed in our duty as citizens of a democracy.

It is the responsibility of the state to provide adequate facilities and care for the treatment of the mentally ill. It is the responsibility of a democratic citizenry, however, to see that the public officials appointed for this task are competent and have sufficient resources to do their jobs well. Ignorance or superstition concerning the causes of mental illness have resulted in a callous complacency. We have failed to appropriate enough funds in our state legislatures to make new therapies available, to build model institutions, to set adequate salaries and wage and hour-scales for hospital employees. For the person who influences the patient more than the doctors—the attendant—we have demanded no professional examination, standards or ethics. Legislators, lacking a clear mandate from the people, have no recourse but to yield to political pressure groups. Ignorance of the problem is no longer an excuse. The society which tolerated these conditions can alone effect a revolution.

The situation demands a radical

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change in our whole attitude toward mental illness. Reforms ebb and flow like the tide depending directly upon the interest of the public. This is a situation which demands continuous education, continuous effort, so deep seated is our apathy and our prejudice. Discovery and publication of new cures does not insure their application. Nor does knowledge and treatment of mental diseases flow in an unbroken, upward progression. Recurrent reform and regression pattern the history of the care of the mentally ill. We have had to learn that eternal vigilance is the only safeguard of our political liberty. It is likewise our society's only safeguard against the enslavement of the mentally afflicted. A democratic society cannot afford to have 8 million citizens emotionally sick or temporarily disabled. Twelve per cent of all men examined at induction centers, more than 1,750,000, were rejected as mentally or emotionally unfit. Thirty-nine per cent of all medical discharges from the army up to July 1, 1945, were due to mental or emotional ills. The grand total for all services up to July 1, 1945, is more than 2,400,000!

The traditional course of reform —exposé, investigation, dismissal of personnel, reorganization under a bold new leadership—runs only to failure. It will never be radical and it jeopardizes further progress in the field of mental hygiene. Public reaction to "exposés" is fearful. The public loses confidence in its psychiatrists of whom there are so few—1500 for the entire country—and from whom research and new achievments alone can come. This lack of confidence confirms the superstitious in their misconceptions of mental illness, adds to the fears from which mental diseases arise and leads to despair of any hope of betterment. It is our duty as responsible citizens and ours alone to translate our disgust into positive action.

N. M. H. FOUNDATION

The National Mental Health Foundation was established to show us "how". The story of how Philip Steer, Willard Hetzel, Leonard Edelstein and Harold Barton, four of the 3,000 C.O.'s assigned as attendants under the wartime service programs conducted by the Brethren Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the American Friends' Service Committee, launched the Foundation, is more familiar than its program and organization. Since the zeal of these gentlemen is matched only by their modesty, we shall confine this discussion to an analysis of the Foundation.

Lay participation through a democratic membership and cooperation with all other agencies and individuals working in the field mark the uniqueness of the Foundation. Although the Foundation is organized for and by laymen, it enlists the aid of professionals in special advisory capacities: the publicity and promotion and psychiatric and nursing committees: Doctors Earl D. Bond, Director of Research Institute of Pennsylvania; R. H. Felix, General Chief, Mental Hygiene Division, United States Public Health Service; Karl A. Menninger, Veterans Winter General Hospital; Dr.

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Lauretta Bender, Social Professor of Psychiatry, New York University; James Lewald, Superintendant of the District Training School, Laurel, Maryland; Charles A. Zeller, Director of the Department of Mental Health of the State of Michigan; William Draper Lewis, Director of the American Law Institute; Mrs. Elizabeth Ross, psychiatric social worker.

Prominent laymen are among the national sponsors: Pearl S. Buck, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, William Green, Helen Hayes, Rufus M. Jones, Thomas Mann, Adolf Meyer, Thomas Parran, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Lessing Rosenwald.

Leonard Edelstein, a graduate of Syracuse University and Harvard Law School, former speech instructor, radio announcer, script writer, camp director, F.B.I. investigator and consultant and mediator for the War Production Board, is the Executive Secretary. He co-ordinates the functions of the internal organization and stimulates over-all planning and program activities.

Lay understanding based upon lay confidence is the biggest job of the Foundation. The crisis in the care of the mentally afflicted is clearly a job for the citizen. Before he can act, he must understand. Before he understands, he must know. The primary job of the Foundation is to inform him. Once he knows, he must be able to function effectively through a program organized to attack specific problems at their source. The professional organizations—The National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the American Psychiatric Association—spent only approximately $9,000 last year for direct public education most of which was not presented in the layman's language.

EDUCATION

The Education Division is under the direction of Harold Barton, graduate of the University of Oregon and former student at the Montana School of Mines. With the aid of the psychiatric and nursing advisory board, the education division has prepared a series of popular leaflets on mental health, mental deficiency, institutional problems and community activities in which the citizen can participate. A Public Affairs pamphlet on mental health will soon appear on the newsstands. *The Handbook for Psychiatric Aides,* Mr. Barton's pride, an orientation manual for nurses, attendants, therapists, and all institutional employees who deal directly with mental patients, is just off the press. Handbooks on the *Care of Disturbed Patients, Training School Personnel* (mental defectives), *Recreational Therapy, Handicraft* and *Occupational Therapy* are being prepared. Mr. Barton also enlists new members for college and institutional service projects such as those carried on by the Brethren, Mennonites and Friends during the war. New units in reformatories, prisons and institutions for the mentally deficient were established this summer.

The Psychiatric Aid, a monthly magazine published for the attendant, is under the direction of Philip Steer, director of the Publishing Division. The magazine conducts lively discussions of the attendant's

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problems, i.e., how to handle disturbed patients, and tries to improve his morale as the lowest but most important rung in the institutional ladder.

Willard G. Hetzel, Nebraska and Michigan Law School graduate, directs the Legal Division. A legal survey of 30 states has been completed. Briefs of existing laws have been prepared in simplified terminology and are available to legislators, administrators, physicians and social workers. When the survey of the 48 states is complete, it will be bound as a reference volume. Model mental health laws have been drafted. A survey of state mental hygiene societies and of conditions in these states is available to the public.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership is the unique feature of the Foundation. It is open to everyone who applies; dues are nominal, $1.00 a year, with ample provision for those who cannot pay. Each member is entitled to one vote. The Board of Directors will be nominated and selected by the members. Nominees must not be physicians, registered nurses, or engaged in any administrative work in an institution or public department concerned with mental fitness. The Board elects a president, vice presidents and secretary-treasurer of the Foundation; it appoints an executive secretary and directors of the education, publishing and legal division; and exercises the power of recall. The members may amend, repeal or add to the by-laws of the Foundation.

Continuous, democratic control over the Foundation's officers and policies is vested in the individual members. The Foundation thus avoids the twin pitfalls of private, voluntary agencies: (1) becoming the "vested interest" of any special group which might pervert its original purpose: (2) isolationism. Since the primary aim of the Foundation is an all-out drive on mental illness, it will cooperate with any other individuals, agencies or official institutions working toward the same goal. It need never exclaim with the board member of a private agency: "But if we merged, or went out of existence, what would become of Mother's memory!"

In addition to its present activities, the Foundation plans to promote a national Mental Health Drive and a nation-wide program in mental health and the prevention of mental illness. Twenty-five states are without a single community clinic to give psychiatric treatment and vast areas of many states have no psychiatric help of any kind available. Although mental illness strikes more persons than syphilis, tuberculosis, cancer and infantile paralysis combined, more money is spent on the prevention of these diseases than is spent in fighting mental diseases. The per capita expenditure for mental disease is fifteen cents as opposed to the $8.00 spent for physical diseases. Of the 5,000 general hospitals and clinics in this country, only 139 are prepared to treat mental cases, although an estimated 50 to 60 per cent of all physical ailments are either caused or accompanied by psychiatric disorders. Little has been done to provide psychiatric aid to schools,

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colleges, prisons and factories where incipient cases could be discovered and treated before they became too serious.

The Foundation also plans to develop a service to mental institutions by preparation of training programs and model standards in personnel, architecture and administration; to support a model research center for scientific research and training of psychiatrists (similar to the proposed cancer research project); to establish a professional organization of attendants and employees to improve standards of care and treatment and raise the standards of employment. (Some union organization of attendants has already been stimulated by the Mental Hygiene Program, forerunner of the Foundation.)

Letters which pour in to the Foundation's headquarters in a former Friend's school house at 3500 Lancaster Avenue, Philadelphia, testify to the desperate need for help. One mother, with one son a rheumatic cripple and another hopelessly ill with a mental disease, heard of a new treatment and appealed to the Foundation for aid: "No general hospital will accept him . . . it is so costly that it is way beyond my means, but when you have to save a life, if you have to beg and borrow, you do it. Now I hope you will help me in my plight, just what is your opinion and how I could go about it . . ." Another writes of the horror which she had borne for 20 years: ". . . yet I know what it is to be shut up in complete solitude in a locked room, metal lined door, no door knob, high window barred, only a cot with dirty, oil-covered mattress—cold—only clothing a blue denim slip . . . It has been a queer kind of floundering, for I had nothing, and my attempts were far from scientific and without any wise counsel, for I would never so much as go into a physician's office . . ."

The time has come for us to assume our responsibility to these citizens and to all in similar stress.

• Note on the food front: a new spring lock has been patented to prevent "unwarranted opening of refrigerators."

• "I say the aim of my foreign policy is that I can go to Victoria Station, take a ticket and go anywhere the hell I like without a passport or visa."—Ernest Bevin (Do they sell tickets to Palestine at Victoria Station?)

• Raymond Rubicam used to solicit accounts for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. He featured Dr. George Gallup of the company's research department.

"Gentlemen," Mr. Rubicam said impressively, "Dr. Gallup missed predicting the last presidential election result by only two per cent! And that's the man who'll be supervising your research surveys for you."

A strained silence followed. Finally, the chairman of the board spoke up: "Mr. Rubicam, if one of our actuaries missed by two per cent, he'd be fired!"

—Mike Goldgar, *Printer's Ink*

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The picture of the United States is changing

Our Class Structure

By Daniel Bell

From his column in The New Leader

THE terms "working class" and "middle class" have been used more loosely in political and economic phraseology than any other terms in the lexicon. Left-wing sectarians have made sweeping and reckless generalizations regarding the "proletarianization" of the population, or have talked of the sharpening of class lines, the growing rigidity of the class structure and similar clichés.

The statistical material we have on class groupings in the country indicates a totally different picture. Here are the basic trends in summary fashion:

A relative decline in the proportion of the working class to the total gainfully employed.

An even sharper relative decline in the proportion of *industrial workers* to the total gainfully employed.

An absolute decline in the agricultural population, particularly independent farmers.

An increase in small business enterprises!

A spectacular rise in the proportion of technical and managerial employees.

The relative increase in the white collar, sales and clerical occupations.

The meaning of the words "relative decline" and "relative increase" as well as "absolute decline" is this: from 1910 to 1940, the period under survey here, the total number of workers increased from roughly 34,500,000 to 51,500,000. During this 30 year period, the number of manual workers held their own, or increased slightly, but in proportion to the increases of the employed force the working class declined. In other words, of the 17,000,000 more people added to the working force of the country, the greatest number of this additional force went into non-manual, i.e., clerical, professional, technical, occupations.

Here is how the data regarding the working class look in tabular form:

	1910	1940
Unskilled workers	13,000,000	13,000,000
Semi-skilled workers	3,000,000	7,000,000
Skilled workers	4,000,000	6,000,000
Professional	1,600,000	3,300,000
Clerical	3,800,000	8,900,000

In percentage terms, the picture appears this way:

	1910	1940
Unskilled workers	36 %	25.9%
Semi-skilled	14.7%	21 %
Skilled	11.7%	11.7%
Professional	4.4%	6.6%
Clerical	10.2%	17.2%

(The figures do not add up to 100 percent because I am eliminating independent enterprisers, i.e., farmers and small businessmen, and

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managers and owners. *It should be noted that the category "unskilled workers" in the occupational census includes farm laborers.*)

But even this does not tell the full story. Not all persons listed here as workers (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled) are *industrial* workers. The figures are not exact, but roughly 45 percent of the total classed as workers are in *non-industrial* work, such as farm labor, transportation and trade. (Corey estimates 29,500,000 in the working class in 1940, out of the total employed of 51,500,000. Of this 29,500,000 approximately 16,000,000 are industrial workers. Thus, 33 percent of the total work force are industrial workers.)

Another way of looking at the picture is this: *in what kinds of work* are the people employed? These are the comparative figures:

	Percentages of total gainfully employed	
	1870	1940
In Agriculture	53.6	17.5
In Manufacturing	26.8	26.3
In Trade	4.4	16.7
In Public Service	.5	3.9
In Clerical	2.4	12.2
In Professional	2.6	7.3

The basic reasons for the *shrinkage* in industrial proletariat are now:

1) The increasing automatization of technology displaces manual workers. At the same time it introduces a new social force, the technical employee.

2) As incomes rise and productivity increases, there is an increased demand for *services* (amusements, travel, hotels, diversified goods) which expand the trade and commercial lines.

These two developments are part of a general tendency in industrialized countries to move towards what the Australian economist Colin Clark has called *tertiary* industries. The lowest income countries depend on agriculture, forestry and fishing or the *primary* phase; after industrialization, they move into manufacturing, mining and building, or the *secondary* phase; with a rising standard of living and increased technology there is a greater demand for services, transport and commerce, or the *tertiary* phase. More than half of the workers in the U.S.A. are engaged in tertiary types of occupations, as against one-fourth 70 years ago.

Agricultural: In 1870 half of all those who worked lived on farms; today less than 17½ percent work on farms and the number is steadily decreasing. While the total employed of the country has increased by 50 percent since 1910, the absolute number of farmers has declined.

We are today, too, on the threshhold of a technological revolution on the farm, and with the power-driven machinery types already in existence, we could produce more food than we are producing today, with one-third less labor.

The independent farm group has always been the backbone of a strong middle class. Yet family-type farms are declining and factory-type farms are on the increase. In the last 10 years, with farm acreage under cultivation the highest in history, family-type farms decreased 10 percent.

The sociological effects of this rural-to-urban shift are apparent. It has meant a fragmentation of old communal ties, the absorption of the

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farmers through press and radio into an urbanized national culture pattern. Politically, the population shift has increased the voting population of urban centers, although in many states this effect has been held back by the unwillingness of rural-dominated legislatures to redistrict the congressional seats.

Independent Enterprisers: The popular conception has been that small business has declined with the concentration of industry. But there are cross-currents here; in some areas, small business has declined, in others, increased.

In manufacturing, independent enterprises *decreased* from 1910 to 1940 from 235,000 to 145,000 firms, a decline of 36 percent.

In wholesale and retail trade, small business increased from 1,278,-000 to 1,926,00 or an *increase* of 58 percent.

In other fields, increases have been greater. Thus the introduction of automobiles has meant an accompanying rise in the number of garages. The number of independents in the entertainment industry has increased 100 percent. In the movie field, the actions of the anti-trust division in forcing the end of block-booking and other devices will tend to increase the number of independent operators. The expansion of home electrical appliances will cause a rise in the number of retail outlets and a rise as well in the clerical and sales forces.

On an over-all basis, independent enterprises have increased 20 percent since 1910, an increase largely accounted for by the trend to tertiary type of occupation.

Public Service: The expansion of the type of services performed by government has skyrocketed the number of employees in this field. Proportionately, public service had a greater increase in employment, more than 2500 percent, from 1870, than any other area. In 1870 there were 175,000 persons employed by federal, state and local governments. In 1940, the figure was 3,250,000, of whom 40 percent were employed by the federal government.

The working class: The most important shift in the composition of the working class is the relative decline of skilled and unskilled workers and the rapid rise of a new class of semi-skilled workers.

The distinctions are important and have tremendous social consequences. Technology is enlarging a group of engineers and technicians, on the one hand; on the other, machines are displacing basic skills, and replacing raw muscle force. The new workers are essentially *machine tenders* who can learn their jobs in a few weeks. This semi-skilled work requires less initiative, ingenuity and craft than skilled work, more dexterity and simple judgement than full manual labor. This shift will have far-reaching consequences on the trade union structure.

The New Middle Class: This concept was introduced into the sociological literature by a number of European sociologists, particularly Professors Lederer and Marschak, to describe the new white-collar occupations. They are not independent persons, as are small businessmen, farmers and professionals. But because they have a higher pres-

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tige than a laborer and work on a salaried basis they have been considered a new middle class. In this country the concept has been employed analytically principally by Alfred Bingham and Lewis Corey. Actually it is a fuzzy concept for it includes sales and clerical personnel, usually even lower-salaried than skilled workers, and technical managerial, professional and important bureaucratic jobs.

By lumping them all together, this group of new middle class adds up to 12,700,000 of a total of 51,500,000 employed.

The most striking aspect is the spectacular rise of the technical-managerial group, reflecting an important change in the nature of the industrial process. Today there are fewer businesses, although many more executives. In fact the number of manufacturing executives has grown twice as fast as the general population in the last 30 years. During that period the population as a whole went up 43 percent, while the number of managers increased 91 percent, of salaried professionals, 126 percent and technicians, 226 percent.

The development of a new middle class has deep implications for the structure of industry and the divorce of most employees from the planning of work patterns.

In terms of social attitudes, a large part of this new middle class is separated from the working class. Yet the crucial fact is that the new middle class is at the mercy of the labor market. Middle class employment can only grow as primary incomes and purchasing power grow to increase the demand for services. In this respect the issue of full employment is one that can unite both the new middle class and the working class behind a progressive social movement.

THE TRENDS IN SUMMARY

1. Farmers will continue decreasing in relative proportion.

2. Other independent proprietors will increase in relative proportion.

3. Professionalization will increase.

4. Clerical workers may continue to increase in relative proportion. Rate of growth will slow down as office machines multiply.

5. Skilled workers will begin to decline in relative proportion.

6. Semi-skilled workers will become the largest group among the working class.

7. Unskilled workers will decrease in relative proportion.

Class Divisions in the U.S.—1940:

I. Farmers	5,265,000
a) Owners	3,227,000
b) Tenants	2,038,000
II. Working Class	29,518,000
a) Industrial	16,124,000
b) Farm Labor	2,312,000
c) Others	11,082,000
III. Middle Class	16,633,000
a) Independent Enterprisers	3,863,000
b) New Middle Class	12,769,000
IV. Upper Bourgeoisie	240,000

(Table by Lewis Corey, adapted from United States census material.)

• Tit for tat: "Humans thinking about eating dogs had better be careful, because the dogs are thinking of eating humans."

Asahi, Tokyo.

(This telepathy is dangerous stuff!)

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The truth will never out

Mikhailovitch Trial

By Dorothy Thompson

From her Syndicated Column

THE United Committee of South Slavic Americans has published a pamphlet under the above title, summarizing the evidence against General Mikhailovitch. It consists of 15½ pages of description of Chetnik activities and documentary evidence. Its author is Vaso Trivanovitch. Meanwhile, the commission of inquiry set up by the committee for a fair trial for Mikhailovitch has taken evidence, under oath, from American military personnel attached as liaisons to Mikhailovitch's headquarters, or rescued by him and returned to the Allies, and has published its findings. The Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, representing Mikhailovitch's accusers, was invited to send persons to cross-examine the American witnesses. They refused.

The evidence presented by the two committees is contradictory at almost all points. But conscientious study of both reports does throw light on Yugoslavia from the beginning of 1942, until the end of the war. It is only in the framework of that general picture that the case of Mikhailovitch can be understood.

King Peter's government, and guerrilla movement, entered the war against the Axis through a revolt in March, 1941. Mikhailovitch became commander of the guerrilla Chetniks. The Croatian population, disaffected for years, and led by Ante Pavelich, welcomed, in large part, the establishment of an "independent" pro-Axis state. Resistance depended on the Serbs.

King Peter's government, disgusted with Croatian behavior, developed a strong Serbian policy Until Russia entered the war, the Chetniks were, therefore, the only resistance forces.

Vaso Trivanovitch, author of the case against Mikhailovitch, was then, as an officer in the American Friends of Yugoslavia, an apologist for King Peter, and in this capacity sponsored a coast-to-coast broadcast stating that the "revolt of March 27" had "electrified the world". Answering the Axis propaganda that Chetniks executed by the Axis were "Jews and Communists," this broadcast said, "Yugoslavia has some 60,000 Jews, but it has no Communist party. It is doubtful whether there were more than 10,000 underground Communists. But 80,000 Yugoslavs have already been executed by the Axis and Pavelich's Croatian traitors."

I quote this for the view of Mr. Trivanovitch, at the time, concerning the popularity of Communism in Yugoslavia, for he is now the supporter of the Yugoslav Communist regime. But he had changed his mind before. He was at one time

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an apologist for the Nazi economic system, and associated with Professor Aughagen against the boycott of Nazi Germany.

Only when Russia was attacked, did a new resistance movement spring up, definitely Communist—and therefore (according to Mr. Trivanovitch) without popular roots—anti-Axis and anti-Chetnik, and fighting for a totally different objective than Mikhailovitch's.

The result was civil war combined with war against the German and Italians. It is the charge of the anti-Mikhailovitch pamphlet that he abandoned the fight against the Germans and Italians only to fight the Partisans, and "documentary" evidence is presented to show that he assisted the Germans, and the Italians in particular, in their struggle against the Partisans.

But American officers testified that Chetniks, fighting Germans, were fallen upon in the rear by Partisans—which was certainly collaboration with the enemy. In such a situation, the probability is, and the evidence on both sides indicates, that the Axis did its best to draw consequences favorable to itself from the condition of civil strife, and to drive one resistance movement against the other.

The question, therefore, of who was guilty of collaboration and if so, why, can hardly be answered without asking the prior and fundamental question: who started the civil war in Yugoslavia? For nothing could have been more favorable to the Axis than civil war. And on this, I believe, impartial history would pin the guilt on the Partisans. For instead of making a common front for the duration of the struggle against the Germans, their fight against the Axis was, from the outset, a fight also against the London government and the Chetniks, and a struggle to weaken and destroy Serbia—the very center of resistance. To do this, Marshal Tito has not hesitated to welcome the aid of former Pavelich Croatians.

Mikhailovitch was tried for treason by his opponents who, in this case, were prosecutor, judge, and jury. The trial could never unravel the threads of the tragic Yugoslav events, for it was to the interest of the prosecution, which has already presented the verdict, to suppress the complete story of the civil war.

As for the "evidence," this columnist was for four years a correspondent in the Balkans, and knows too much about Balkan forgeries of documents to accept anything as *prima facie* evidence, without cross-examination before an impartial judge. Knowing also Belgrade police methods, which have not been humanized by Marshal Tito's O.Z.N.A., "confessions" indicate nothing to me except the efficacy of these methods.

If anything was evidence, the testimony of the American officers and fliers was. That it was barred in Yugoslavia was, in itself, sufficient indication of the sort of "trial" to which General Mikhailovitch was exposed. The American name for it is "lynch law."

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Words can stop thinking

The Power of Words

By Ralph McGill

From his column in the Atlanta Constitution

THERE are certain words which possess unusual power.

They can halt the processes of thought.

When the mind encounters one of these words, thinking stops, is neatly parked in the brain's garage, and the faster, more reckless vehicle of emotion is brought out on the mental highway.

The emotional car has 12 cylinders and jet propulsion.

It travels fast. But it doesn't steer well. It has very unreliable brakes and can't be stopped within a mile or so of facts. In truth, it more often than not runs slap over the facts and ends up in the ditch of error.

This sort of car runs on many tracks.

It is the favorite vehicle of a certain type of politician. They sent it scorching through the hustings seeking to divert the mind of the people from facts.

Words often cause Congress to stop thinking and become emotional.

For instance, the best news out of Washington is the Senate's restoration of $9,000,000 to the State Department's appropriation for carrying on its overseas information program, particularly shortwave news broadcasts.

Secretary James Byrnes formerly had pleaded in vain for the appropriation. It now must pass the House where the original cut was made.

The House cut was caused by the strange power of the word "propaganda." When the House heard that word, falsely used by uninformed or prejudiced opponents of the bill, it ceased to think and became emotional.

There is nothing wrong with the word "propaganda".

Propaganda can be a perfectly proper activity.

There is nothing wrong with the word "politician." It has come to connote something slightly over on the wrong side of the cultural tracks because of some politicians, their lack of character and their activities.

So, the highly desirable and vital job of providing information about this country was smeared, and nullified, by the brush of "propaganda."

Let us look at Czechoslovakia. It was the nation known in the early years after the first World War as the only nation with the label "Made in Pittsburgh." This was because the Czech government-in-exile met there and formed the government.

Woodrow Wilson was its great

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hero. The Czechs had a chief street named for him and a large statue of him.

The nation was entirely friendly to the United States.

What is the situation there now?

The Czechs have no idea the United States had anything to do with defeating Japan. They think Russia did it.

Why do they think so?

Russia pours a daily broadcast into Czechoslovakia — and other European countries, particularly the Balkans, presenting a highly distorted picture of the part played by the Soviets in the Pacific war with Japan. (Russia and Britain also beam programs to South American.)

What have the Czechs—and other countries in Middle Europe heard from the United States?

Not a single word.

All the world would like to know what part we had in the war. Few countries had any chance to hear from us during the war. Only a few illegal, "underground," receiving sets received any news.

Now our State Department wishes to send out straight news, telling the accurate, factual story of what we have done and are doing.

The Russians, for instance, know not a word of the current argument at this, or previous Big Four meetings, except the few brief items published in their newspapers.

The rôle of the atom bomb—and our program for what is our invention and, temporarily at least, our exclusive weapon, is not known in Russia or Middle or Eastern Europe.

Can any fair-minded person say that a factual news report, taken from our news agencies, would be improper propaganda?

By what stretch of imagination can it be deducted that it is wrong for this country to tell its story, factually?

In a decision, tragic in its misunderstanding and shortsightedness, the A.P. and the U.P. decided their own independence and the independence of the American press was not strong enough to allow their own government to broadcast, with credit, the news produced and sent out to American newspapers. And sold, incidentally, to foreign newspapers, including those of Franco's Spain, and totalitarian Turkey and Russia.

The whole world is eager for the clean taste of news from free America. The agencies can't do the job because their files, however adequate, are at the mercy of editors and broadcasters who select only the items they want to print or broadcast. The result is, and has been, a distorted picture. Only the State Department can do the necessary job.

The American press and news agencies enjoy their reputation for freedom because their country is free and its Constitution provides them guarantees of freedom.

By all means let us urge the House to join with the Senate so that the voice of America may be heard telling its own story.

• Three may keep a secret if two are dead.

—Benjamin Franklin

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The poor taste of our advertisers

Remember the Starving!

By Charles Fisher

From his column in the Philadelphia Record

THERE are times when we observe American methods of publicizing and propagandizing with a mixture of bewilderment and distaste. We don't like being clubbed into buying Aunt Annie's Atom-Age Oats, and it's worse when they try to cajole us, for we cajole far too easily.

But we do admit to a private admiration for the elaborate jiggery-pokery through which goods and ideas are sold; and sometimes when the machinery is put to good use we are even grateful for it. Just now it is being turned to the purpose of reminding this fat and handsomely fed nation that people are hungry and dying because they have nothing to eat.

"Wait a minute!" say the advertisements and posters, "500,000,000 people are starving!" Underneath is a drawing of a plate being scraped, with a chop, bread and vegetables going into the garbage can, and below that a sketch of a hungry-eyed little girl. And then the legend—read it now, in case you overlooked it in the ads—says:

"Don't . . . please don't . . . throw it away! The waste from your table and the other tables of America would save 20 devastated nations from starvation! How can we refuse such small sacrifice while innocent people die? Buy no more food than you need . . . serve only as much as your family will eat . . . conserve on the critically short grain products and fats. You will feel better morally and physically . . . so will 500,000,000 starving people."

We don't and never did believe that America can do the job it ought to do with its leavings. We ought to take the stuff that's needed and send it abroad and ration the rest among us; we've so much that the rationing wouldn't be more than a mild alteration in diet. But since the government isn't doing that, we'll have to try the amateurish and hit-or-miss way of trying to see how far our conserved waste will go.

It wouldn't go very far at all without the propaganda and advertising machinery. Most of us wouldn't ever get around to remembering the ones who don't have meals. But if we can see the memo posted on every hand, with the same professional persuasiveness which convinces us that there's nothing to equal Hustle Bubble Suds, we might begin to remember that closer shopping and closer ordering can possibly feed at least one or two out of a multitude who would otherwise die.

It isn't, of course, the lamb chop that's scraped off the plate which makes a meal for anyone; you couldn't wrap it up and mail it to

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Greece. Nor is it the bread which grows mouldy in home and restaurant kitchens that helps overseas; you must govern your usage of bread so that the unnecessary slices aren't baked, so that the flour itself can be shipped.

The whole plan as we are working it is so tenuous that it would be comic, except for the expert touch of the advertising writers. If it is effective, they will be the lads who will have done it. They approach an audience accustomed to their guidance in the matter of which perfume or truss to use. And "Wait a minute!" they say to their customers, "500,000,000 people are starving!"

It is easy to forgive them their use of exclamation points and meaningless dots between sentences if they keep recalling that hard fact. No one else could do it. Soon, we hope, all the tumultuous pressures of radio and newspapers and magazines and billboards will settle upon the theme. We should give far more than the extra roll and the surplus slice of roast. But if that is to be the limit of our contribution it's better than nothing at all.

Problem of clothing the ten-year-old

Father and Son

From Topics of the Times

A FATHER'S problems with his wardrobe really begin at the age of ten. Any man who has a son of that age is well aware of it, to his sorrow, and has resigned himself to depredations without conscience that will continue for years until he gets the boy safely out of the house.

This is the age when a lad, of our times, has discarded knickers or whatever it was that boys used to wear when they dressed like boys instead of men; when they first begin to button their coats; when they scorn the notion that they may be interested in girls, but nevertheless begin to apply oil on their hair and wet it down; when they may occasionally shine their shoes while still resolutely refraining from brushing their teeth; when first they investigate the mysteries of fractions, in arithmetic, but are still disinterested in the rights of minorities, as personified in their own parents.

A boy of 10 would rather be shot dead than appear in knee-length pants. He would be subject to the ridicule of his friends and enemies, and would come home from school —if he ever did show up at all—a psychopathic case.

He is, at that age and in our era, adult beyond his years. He has begun to take on the first symtoms of the social graces, occasionally allows his mother or sister to pre-

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cede him through a doorway, can, when the reason for it is explicit and of an emergency nature, be prevailed upon to do small chores in the home, and is starting to take up the major problems of the world he lives in, with preliminary studies in physics and chemistry en route slowly to the atom. These latter studies he performs largely in his room, testing the wonders of gravity, static electricity and the surface tension of water, with a variety and disorder of laboratory equipment that promotes hysterical dismay in his mother and exhausts the household's capacity to go forward without its proper equipment.

It is a period of life, fleeting but very attractive in some respects, when a boy may show some slight signs of admiration and affection for his male parent. This is likely to manifest itself in strange and sometimes bewildering fashion. It is noticeable chiefly, and disastrously, in raids on father's neckties.

Now, as might be expected, the neckties that a boy of 10 wishes to press into service for himself are never the ones that father would gladly part with. He has an infallible eye for bright color and contemporary design, and a withering disdain for the somber and overly respectable. He makes his choices with judicious leisure during father's daytime absence, and, by the time the commuting train has reached its evening destination, has consummated these by granting them a secure place on his own already well-stocked rack.

Now a firm stand is evidently called for in dealing with this youthful looseness and failure to grasp the rudiments of property rights. If a mother, for instance, had taken the proper steps during the day to nip the tendency in the bud it might be possible to cope with it. Actually, instead of taking steps, she is found to be aiding and abetting. In some cases she has assisted in making a proper selection of loot, and has proceeded irrevocably to tailor down contraband neckwear to juvenile size, making recapture futile, if it were not otherwise impossible.

Yet, these are good days—when a boy is 10. If the flattery of imitation has its painful aspects, it also has its secret pleasures. The man who will sometimes be is now beginning to grow visible, before the anxious years of adolescence. The small boy whose first steps you still vividly recall is reaching out beyond you now. He will soon be self-consciously exchanging the filial kiss for the handshake, the comradely pat on the shoulder for the embrace. He already sits co-equally beside you instead of on your lap as he thoughtfully listens to the after-supper story.

You will be thinking these days of the dreams, inadequately achieved, that you once dreamed as another boy of 10 and wondering what all goes on in the seething head of that lad beside you. That brain of his is full of a number of strange things that, compared with your own youth, make it seem old before its time. Atoms, airplanes, worlds at war—yes, a more serious world he faces and vaguely, to be sure, strives manfully to understand.

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When will our German policy be determined?

Can Germany Wait?

By Sumner Welles

From his Syndicated Column

THE history of the years between the Great Wars should have taught us the stern lesson that there can be no hope of lasting peace unless we can obtain positive assurance that the new controls to be imposed upon the German people will prevent them from undertaking future aggression.

This government knew that there could be no such assurance unless the four major powers continued to cooperate. We knew that no policy would work unless the four Allies agreed upon it and were willing jointly to enforce it.

The surest way to secure that all-essential assurance would have been to conclude an understanding on long-range policy before the end of the war. Had this been done the punitive and corrective period of military occupation could have paved the way for the commencement of a constructive long-range policy.

Such a policy should have been founded on four cardinal principles:

1. Political decentralization of Germany with the gradual grant of autonomy to groups of those traditionally separatist German states which Hitler had finally submerged in the Third Reich. The restoration of such autonomy would avoid the centralization of military or industrial strength. It would prevent the future domination of the German people by any single state or militaristic group.

2. Political decentralization should not eliminate customs and currency unions. Nor should it prevent the establishment of an economic regime capable of insuring to each individual German the opportunity for economic security.

3. A reparations program which compels the German people to furnish just reparation, but which does not exact payments beyond their capacity to meet, nor reduce German living standards below western European levels.

4. A long-term military alliance between the major powers to insure the continued disarmament of Germany and to provide under the United Nations a prolonged international control over Germany's industrial and economic life.

Before the end of the war, and during the months immediately after victory, the United States possessed both the necessary leverage, as well as the opportunity, successfully to assume leadership in getting a four-power agreement upon such a policy. It wholly failed to undertake any positive leadership.

The Yalta agreements dealt with the military aspects of Germany's occupation and with the outline of reparations. The Potsdam agree-

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ments referred to Germany's future only in guarded and general terms.

In the directive covering American policy in Germany during the initial post-defeat period, which was issued to General Eisenhower in April, 1945, Section C provided:

"The administration of affairs in Germany shall be directed toward the decentralization of the political and administrative structure and development of local responsibility . . . The German economic structure shall also be decentralized."

General Eisenhower was instructed to urge this policy upon the Control Council in Berlin. These principles were given lip-service at Potsdam. They have never been implemented.

Ten months had passed since V-E Day before Secretary Byrnes proposed a 25-year security pact among the Big Four to insure the continued disarmament of Germany.

Now, 14 months after Germany's defeat, we are told that General Clay has devised a new scheme for the political decentralization of Germany, and that it is to be proposed at the Paris Conference.

The reparations policy agreed upon at Yalta, as later confirmed at Paris, is not being carried out.

There is not even a semblance of understanding among the major powers upon the economic future which the German people are to be permitted to have.

Germany is in a state of chaos. It is a cancer in the European body politic. The gangrene is quickly spreading beyond Germany's borders.

Each major power is carrying out a separate policy within its own zone.

The Soviet Union is presently bent upon making of eastern Germany a political and economic tributary of the Soviet system.

The French are concentrating on detaching the Ruhr, the Rhineland and the Saar from the rest of Germany.

The British seem equally insistent upon making of their zone of Germany a future buffer.

If the United States is carrying out any policy within its zone, it would appear to consist of dumping all administrative responsibilities upon the laps of the Germans as rapidly as possible. Every step taken is increasing the belief throughout Europe that we intend to pull out of Germany in the near future.

It is quite true that the immediate cause for the failure of the four powers to agree at this moment upon a German policy is the refusal of Russia to accept our recent proposals. It has consequently become the tendency to blame the Kremlin for the current disaster. Yet had the United States sought to procure agreement upon the necessary policy before Russian appetites, or Russian suspicions, had grown so great, is it not likely that an agreement would then have been reached?

Has this government no responsibility for failing to act while it was still strong?

Secretary Byrnes has now suggested that next November would be a good time to consider a general German peace settlement.

The tragic question is whether events are going to wait that long.

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Molotov is wrong

No Blocs

By Melvin K. Whiteleather

From his column in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

IN spite of the negative reaction to Mr. Churchill's Fulton Anglo-American bloc idea, Foreign Minister Molotov thinks he has encountered such a bloc.

He says he met it in Paris, where Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes worked together by prearrangement in an offensive against the Soviet Union and for (a) a tightening of the British monopoly in the Mediterranean and Red Sea areas and (b) the enthronement of American capital in the weakened countries of Europe which cannot help themselves.

Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet representative on the Security Council, used the same theme in a speech in New York recently. He accused us of trying to dominate the Council, and warned that "attempts to use the organization as a tool in the hands of one country or a small group of countries can lead to far-reaching, undesirable, negative consequences."

Secretary Byrnes replies that no Anglo-American bloc exists, and he points to numerous differences between British and American views.

Certainly no formal bloc exists, but the record shows consistent parallel Anglo-American action in every move designed to circumvent Russia.

Certainly, too, there are differences between the United States and British viewpoints. But these differences arise only after the first line of defense has been held; that is, after the U.S.S.R. has been contained. The United States and Britain are not of one mind as to what should be done with Italian colonies, but they are agreed that Russia should be prevented from gaining a pre-eminent position in any of them. Like Russia, the United States has been waging an offensive against the British position in the Middle East, but unlike Russia, our primary objective has been commercial, not political.

Dislike of Communism is but one factor, although a strong one, in the Anglo-American attempt to hold the bulkhead. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that the Soviets could make Communism stick in western Europe—or even that they will make it stick in the eastern part of the continent, where they have full sway. The determining factor has been the mutual conviction that Russia has already obtained her due, with interest, and now encroaches upon the interests of her two partners.

The trouble lies in the fact that Russia got hers first. Now, when she meets solid opposition from those who are trying to get theirs, she conjures up all sorts of evil capitalistic

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designs upon her, and she complains that she is no longer being treated as an equal of the major powers. By the same token, her disinclination to evaluate highly what she has obtained in Eastern Europe (and the Pacific) and her inclination to press for more raise doubts about her intentions.

This serious situation might have been avoided if President Roosevelt had seen fit to follow a different policy than he did toward France. Marshal Stalin first advanced his claims to East Prussia, to eastern Poland, and to eastern Germany on behalf of Poland, at the Teheran conference at the end of 1943. He pursued the matter at the Crimean conference in February, 1945. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill agreed, but in deference to their public opinion, they made the mild and useless reservation that the formal fixing of the boundaries should be done at a general peace conference. Mr. Churchill, after Yalta, said that the Russian claims were "right and just," and he made the point that Stalin's Russia was moderate because it asked for less than Russia had had under the Czars.

Regardless of how Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt felt about it at the time, they consented to Russia's obtaining what she wanted without making any move toward a settlement in western Germany. It can be argued that Russia had the inside track militarily, and nothing effective could be done to stop her from making whatever settlement she desired. That was true in the end, but it was not true at the time of the Teheran or Crimean conferences when it was still possible to put forward a settlement for the west and expect to obtain it as a *quid pro quo* for what Stalin wanted in the East.

But neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Churchill knew exactly what they wanted to do about Germany. France had a majority interest in whatever was done, but it had been Mr. Roosevelt's policy to hold off General de Gaulle. The General's National Liberation Committee was functioning in Algiers and had been recognized by the United States and Britain as the only organ representing France, when the Teheran conference was held. The General's Provisional Government was at work in Paris when Yalta came along. But the General was invited to neither conference.

Had he been present, those two conferences would have run less smoothly than they did, but assuredly the French would have insisted on a definite settlement in the West at the same time that one was sanctioned for Russia in the East.

The path might have been rough then, but smoother now.

• Senator Hickenlooper was visiting the 80-year-old mother of a friend.

"I want you to meet Senator Hickenlooper, mother", his friend said, introducing the senator from Iowa. The mother smiled but made no reply. She listened intently to the conversation and finally said apologetically: "Excuse me, I'm a little hard of hearing and George doesn't speak distinctly. I keep thinking he's calling you 'Hickenlooper.'"

—*Pathfinder*

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FORUM: World Organization Nee

YES!

By Morley G. Dilke

WORLD organization does not have to be based on power politics. The world organization we are describing is a world organization for peace. Power politics is an effort to attain or to remain in the top position in the world in power and wealth. Power and wealth go hand in hand. I shall attempt to show that power politics has not prevented wars but caused them and that the present conflicts between Russia and the United States are most dangerous when they are conflicts for power and wealth and less dangerous when they are conflicts between different political theories.

WEAKNESS OF ORGANIZATION

If we regard the question as purely a matter of theory, we must acknowledge that all the great political thinkers have realized that peace can only be based on justice. Nevertheless, the world has never been organized to obtain justice either for individuals or for states. Furthermore, it is the history of organizations that they start either seeking power and wealth or seeking justice but tend to perpetuate themselves because they have attained power and wealth.

Critics of as diverse organizations as the Christian church or the organized labor movement can claim that they have sought and do seek power and wealth, although they started by seeking justice. So our problem becomes one of creating an organization to attain peace and justice and preventing this organization from becoming a vehicle to do just the opposite.

(To keep this within the bounds of practicability, we must recognize that we are starting with the U.N., not a Utopia, but we can judge the effects of our policies by whether they approach or put off our aim of a world organization for peace based on justice.)

The United Nations, so far, is frankly based on power politics. But the United Nations is not a fixed concept that we must take or leave any more than was the League of Nations. War came while the League of Nations was in existence because its most powerful members were more interested in maintaining the *status quo* than they were in attempting to base peace on justice. There are always exceptions to any rule. (Debators call them the exceptions that prove the rule.) The rule I want to establish is that wars are based on a struggle for power and wealth that is opposed by the possessors of power and wealth.

CHRONOLOGY OF POWER

Nomads made war on farmers because they were militarily stronger. They seized and consumed the riches of the farms and moved on to find other fields to conquer. Eventually the farmers organized and proved

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Not Be Based on Power Politics
NO!

By Joseph C. Williams

WORLD organization must be based on power politics. To maintain the truth of this assertion does not exclude the theoretical possibility of an alternative: a truly just international organization, necessarily predicated, I believe, on the democratic principles of the dignity of man and universal suffrage. That is the alternative: not even my opponent makes a case for its practicability in the world as we know it.

Power politics, as defined by the opposition, is "an effort to attain or remain in the top position in the world in power and wealth." I agree. I am content, what is more, to find no fault with his contention that: "if we can eliminate power politics . . . we shall eliminate what has been up to now the principal cause of war." (This is somewhat like debating the questions: if Napoleon had never lived; if Hitler had been killed in the first World War . . .)

REAL QUESTION

The question vital to this debate, however, my opponent dodges skillfully through 2,000 words of discussion, i.e., *can* we eliminate power politics from modern world organization, assuming that its elimination is infinitely desirable? However much impressed I am with my opponent's thesis, that struggles for power and wealth cause wars, I find nowhere in his discussion any practical suggestions for the elimination of these factors. However much I agree that we are trying to attain "a world organization for peace," I contend that we must attack the problem from the standpoint of what is practicable *now*.

In spite of the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms and the Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson, diplomacy at the 1946 Peace Tables shows complete, if tacit, acceptance of the power politics principle. The two most powerful states today are unquestionably the United States and Russia. Unquestionably, they do not see eye to eye and, unfortunately, in the power politics world in which we live, their interests obviously conflict. The U.S.S.R. wants, if not communism, then a cordon of "buffer" communist states at her frontiers. The United States wants not only to prevent the spread of communism wherever possible, but to keep as much of the European and Asiatic continents outside Russia's orbit as possible, with an eye on the threat to a balance of power.

Since my opponent is completely convinced of the economic basis of all power struggle, I shall remind him of the serious economic problem involved here. The foreign trade policies of the U.S.S.R. have put the capitalist states

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stronger and the nomads were no longer a serious threat. Condotierri, who later developed into feudal barons, learned how to sell their services to the farmers, but eventually they proved too rapacious and the towns organized to protect their citizens.

As the world became more complex, governments learned methods of taxation—one of the most effective was the sale of monopolies, and this technique was used at home and abroad.

Spain became *the* great power by its use. England warred with Spain because she wanted access to Spain's colonial possessions. France warred with England to decide which should be Spain's successor as primary colonial power.

The American Revolution was fought in part so that the American colonists could break away from the British colonial empire. Germany became a great power and warred with the older nations—or so at least the Germans thought—for a place in the sun, which might be another way of saying—a share in the loot.

The United States was more or less outside all this at first because it was relatively inaccessible and because it later grew very rapidly in strength and wealth. Russia, under the Czar, more accessible than the United States, but the least economically sound of the European states, was backward, but inherently of great strength.

The usefulness of the balance of power was growing and English statesmen, particularly, came to see that the domination of the world by one power was desirable only for that power and its favorites. British foreign policy tended always to side with the weaker of the two powers or groups of powers contending for mastery of the world.

CRITICISM OF POLICY

However, there were always critics of this policy. The basic criticism was ethical and religious. After all, might did not make right. Unfortunately, ethical and religious considerations found practical considerations too powerful for them until, for a short time, the British liberals worked out a formula that seemed to approximate Woodroow Wilson's plea for "rough justice." This was free trade with each man buying in the lowest market and selling in the dearest.

Free trade never went so far as to eliminate the East India Company and control of the colonial states. It was upset eventually because it could not stand up against the American system of protection. However, under free trade, the world had relatively fewer wars.

The United States had just adopted a policy of protection for necessary industries. It later modified this to protection for the American standard of living and, in addition, gradually but steadily inflated its price structure.

This policy had had critics at home. First was Jefferson who did not want the United States to become an urban civilization. He thought that democracy and cities were incompatible. Later, the middle western farmers

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could see that behind the tariff walls the United States was a great area of free trade. They could also see that cotton and wheat were produced in excess of the capacity of the American market to consume them, so, as they saw it, they sold in a free market and purchased in a protected one. This gave the manufacturers a great advantage over them. Inflation at first seemed to be only a relief from debt. Periods of inflation were followed by periods of deflation and, in the process, men who dealt in goods rather than in dollars came to feel that the system was stacked against them.

They saw clearly first, that there should be, if you were a wheat farmer, a constant relationship between the price of a bushel of wheat and the value of mortgaged wheat growing land. They saw that there should be a "parity" between the price of all farm products and all the manufactured products, within the United States.

Organized labor came to think in terms of the B.L.S.'s "Cost of Living" index. Labor leaders felt that their men should get a wage which did not impair their living standards and, when possible, which improved them.

Owners of mortgages, farm land and machinery, came to think in terms of security which meant that, if possible, the returns of capital should be the same regardless of wages or prices.

The wealth of the United States grew at first because of its economic policies. Whether these policies have passed their usefulness and, if so, when that usefulness was passed are rather academic questions in the light of our experience with Europe in World War I and World War II.

Our policies had become: raise wages, raise profits, raise prices and inflate when need be. Occasional depressions caused temporary reductions in the price levels, but no one will maintain that prices in the United States are lower in 1946 than they were in 1776. One thing machinery has not done is to lower the price level.

The United States, because of its size and economic strength, was the principal source of supplies to its Allies in both World Wars.

When we sold to the Allies in the World Market at our 1914 to 1918 prices, they contracted debts they could not pay for an exaggeration of the same reason that the American farmers could not pay their debts based on the same sale of their products to the world market at American prices.

Lend-lease was the early recognition of this same fact in World War II. Whether American armed forces were more or less important than American industry is hard to say, but American power and wealth certainly tipped the balance of power in favor of the Allies in both wars.

To state that the conflicts in the United Nations and in the world between Russia and the United States are primarily conflicts for wealth rather than power seems mistaken on the face of it. Some of the conflicts are conflicts for wealth. The Russian penetration of Northern Iran, like the American penetration of Saudi-Arabia, could give rise to a conflict primarily for wealth. This possibility makes possession of the Dardanelles more important to both sides—in this case a conflict of power. To digress a moment

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and lest this seem like a defense of Russia, the first rule of power politics is to stay on top once you get there. No American should want to see the United States in second place in a power politics world. If we can turn voluntarily from a peace based on force to a peace based on justice we should, but in the process we do not want to lose power only to find that the basis of peace is still power.

Some of the conflicts between Russia and the United States are due to underlying differences of political theory complicated by conflicts for power and wealth. The conflicts over policy in Poland reflect this difference.

The American Revolution was a revolution primarily concerned with establishing the dignity of man and decreasing the power of the state. It was among other things a revolution against "the divine right of kings." It proclaimed that "just governments rest on the consent of the governed." The Americans believed that the Bill of Rights, the separation of power and rotation in office were the three measures that would prevent government from again becoming an oppressor.

SOCIALIZATION VS. DEMOCRACY

The American Revolution and the Industrial Revolution started at about the same time. The Industrial Revolution in America helped the growth of the nation. Whether or not the great new wealth was fairly divided, it increased so rapidly that serious doubt about the fact that this was the best of all possible worlds did not arise early. The Industrial Revolution in Europe increased the wealth of Europe, too, but in the process it became apparent, particularly in Germany, that this wealth was not equitably distributed. The Germans did not have a great democratic tradition that caused them to doubt the state. On the contrary, they believed in the state and their social democratic theories were concerned primarily with the state as the more equitable distributor of wealth. Socialization was more to be desired than democracy.

The Russion Revolution was influenced more by German thinking than by American. In fact, on the political side, it was and is a counter-revolution. There is a fundamental conflict between the concept of a state based on freedom of speech and a state based on the right to vote "yes" for the official party program. But Russia would not, I think, go to war with the United States to force Canada to adopt a one-party system, nor, I think, would the United States go to war with Russia to enable Poland to adopt what we consider democratic processes.

However, we support the Poles who oppose Russia and Russia is becoming more friendly with the Argentine regime, which opposes the United States.

I am not attempting to say that it is impossible that the world will ever see a war based on political theory. I am sure that if we can eliminate power politics, the organization of the world based on power and wealth, we shall eliminate what has been up to now the principal cause of war.

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(Continued from page 145)

at a disadvantage. Russia's basic trade intention is eventual withdrawal from capitalist economy: autarchy. Because capitalist countries fear that in the effort to become self-sufficient any state may have to dominate the world, they see no limit to the growth of Russia. (See Germany's economic policies, 1933-1945, or the Japanese Greater East Asia.)

Granting the truth of this thesis, Russia obviously has every reason to distrust and fear the capitalist states.

How, from a practical standpoint and given a general atmosphere of distrust and fear, can the United States and Russia be prevailed upon to cease the struggle for power and wealth? My opponent and I agree that all the great political thinkers realized peace can be based only on justice. Yet with the possible exception of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, none of the great thinkers had practical solutions starting with the world in which we find ourselves. Granting that Wilson's Fourteen Points faced reality, let us see how practical they were as steps toward a better world order, a peace based on justice.

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

In contrast I offer Yalta, Teheran, Moscow, and, just to make my opponent squirm, Versailles. The meetings in New York at the moment, in the public eye though they may be, seem to me no more open and frank on vital issues than, for example, the behind-the-scenes conferences at Versailles. As a matter of fact, it is questionable whether Wiilson's first point is practicable.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas.

Now that the air has replaced the seas as the most important medium of communication between countries, it is well to note that no large state is concerned with freedom of the air, or, for that matter, of the seas. So far, Australian requests for joint use or free use of American Pacific naval bases have been coldly received. Even in wartime the Russians were not enthusiastic about free use of the air over their territory by their own Allies.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

Whether Mr. Wilson qualified this point "as far as possible" because of his own beliefs or those of the Senate, he obviously knew that free trade would be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

Japan and Germany are being disarmed, their "domestic safety" notwithstanding, but Russia is maintaining the largest army in the world and the United States is building up its atom bomb reserve. In a power politics world, both moves may be interpreted in long range terms as necessary to "domestic safety." This is a paramount difficulty in disarming under Mr. Wilson's program.

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V. A free open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

The U.S.S.R. and the United States, respectively, are each governing half of Korea. The United States intends to appropriate such Pacific islands as are necessary to her national defense. Where would Mr. Wilson have looked for the impartial adjuster in such controversies as these?

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia that will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world. . . .

Perhaps the application of this point would have avoided much of the distrust between Russia and the western Allies. Yet Mr. Wilson was President of the United States when United States troops marched into Manchuria against the Bolshevists. Practical politics, power politics, rules against general principles, even when the principles seem to show uncommon sense.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored.

Belgium was restored in 1920, because there was no political reason for preventing her restoration. When a small country, like Czechoslovakia, occupies a geographical position of importance to the Big Powers, her restoration is neither immediate nor certain. This reasoning applies also to point VIII.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored.

France is powerful enough to bring this about without too much delay, unlike smaller states. The question is not moral, but political.

IX. A re-adjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

Look at Fiume, 1919, and Trieste, 1946. Nationality is not so important as geographical position in re the Big Powers (nor was it in 1919).

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

An indubitably fair statement—yet in the period between the two wars Austria was first forbidden by the Allies to take a "free opportunity of autonomous development" by economic alliance with Germany, then conquered by Germany and now, starved under the inept divided rule of the Allies.

XI. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea and the relations of the several Balkan States one to another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality. . . .

This was not France's objective in her Balkan alliances, nor do Russia or Great Britain seem to be guided by "friendly counsel" to the Balkan

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states. The geographic position of the Balkans now, as then, makes them important pawns in the game of power—to refuse to recognize that this is their historic role is to abandon them unrealistically to the struggles between the Big Powers.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a strong sovereignty . . . and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

My opponent has pointed out the economic significance of the Dardanelles. International guarantees are well and good; the vital question is who is to enforce the guarantee. We must recognize that none of the Big Powers are disinterested, and only the Big Powers can make good a guarantee of any kind.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations and which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea. . . .

Geographic facts are indisputable—there was no way in 1918 nor in 1946 of giving Poland access to the sea without creating severe German-Polish tension. Thus far the "international covenants" of 1946, far from guaranteeing Poland's "economic independence and territorial integrity," have used Poland's lands as prizes in territorial arrangements because of her unfortunate geographic position.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

This fourteenth point, in the light of the League of Nations and the United Nations organization, seems to put too much faith in covenants and mutual guarantees as the way to maintain peace. True, Wilson's League was weakened, perhaps fatally, by the failure of the United States to join. But there has never been an association of powers, including the U.N., which was not guided by the power politics of the Big Nations. "Territorial integrity" is guaranteed to small states only as it fits in with the plans of the powers; "political independence" is variously translated to suit the vocabulary of the dominant nations.

My opponent may claim that though the Fourteen Points have never been applied, they could be applied now in a modified form and made to work. Not so. The American concept is far easier to expound to a class in political theory than to apply, for example, to Poland's "access to the sea," Britain's Indian policy or American claims on South Pacific islands. Wilson's insistence on the principles of sovereignty and of self-determination necessarily give rise to conflicts and tensions among mixed populations. Plebiscites, weighted as they may be, and forced migrations, are at best dubious methods of insuring world peace.

The two-fold problem confronting us, as I see it (recognizing that power politics leads eventually to war) is: how to bring the most powerful nations to a realization that they would be better off abandoning the struggle for

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power and, two: how to evolve practical machinery for the transition. But these questions have been ignored by my opponent. He himself, while maintaining that we should turn "voluntarily" from a peace based on force to a peace based on justice, asserts that "in the process we do not want to lose power only to find that the basis of peace is still power."

Only in the realm of theory can a solution to this dilemma be found. As my opponent points out: theoretically power politics is not the necessary diplomacy of international order. Justice, including justice to the people of India, including free migration of peoples, including universal suffrage, including the elimination of national and racial prejudices—would certainly more nearly approximate a peaceful international order. This even my opponent dares not advocate seriously!

Any "justice" less than this, any peaceful organization that falls short of this, is merely power politics by another name. My opponent, by refusing to defend Utopia, concedes the debaate.

REBUTTAL — M. G. DILKE

My opponent seems to have two different threads of thought running through his argument. First, the world always has been organized on a power politics basis. Therefore it always will be. He concedes this leads to war. He is a United States citizen. He hopes the United States will be successful in the next and all future wars. In answer, first of all, I assumed that we were trying to organize the world for peace, not war. If war comes, I, too, like all Americans, hope that America will be on the right side and that the right side will win. There was a time when Stephen Decatur's toast: "My country—may she ever be right, but right or wrong, my country," was held in less repute than it is today.

The other and perhaps more serious criticism of my position is that since the world has always been organized on a power politics basis, and since my opponent cannot imagine a perfect basis for peace, I must expound my position. To make it harder, he even tells me the basis of the world organization I must advocate. It is "Justice, including justice to the people of India, including universal suffrage, including the elimination of racial and national prejudices," which, he maintains, "would more nearly approximate a peaceful international organization."

I shall advocate justice, including all the "includings" above. But I do not advocate saying that the British must get out of India forthwith. I suggest that we forget the "Four Freedoms," the Yalta Conference, Teheran and the power politics to which the United Nations are committed and give a little thought to the atom bomb. If the American and Japanese accounts of what one bomb did in Hiroshima and another in Nagasaki are correct, the realists, the power politicians, had better begin to figure out how anyone will win the next war. Do they advocate making as many bombs as fast as we can, telling our friends to go to one side of the international date line and our enemies to the other, then dropping enough bombs on our enemies to

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eliminate them? Send a few bombs to Trieste, the Dardanelles, north Korea, and maybe even the Kremlin? If not, if Russia and the United States must fight and if the United States must win, why not?

Because the people of the United States would throw out any government that made such an attempt. This suggests the basis of my program, which is, that we extend and develop political liberty and try to develop what the Russians speak of as economic democracy without, in the process, throwing democracy out the window. This calls for a world organization based on a political constitution, withholding, for the individual, all the rights our Bill of Rights withheld for him from the grasp of the state. If economic liberty and political liberty are in conflict, I, at least, am sure that political liberty is more important and I would not give it up for economic gains. But I am not sure they are in conflict and I should suggest that as a practical matter the economic pattern of the world be extended so that areas of free trade are increased with the definite intention that they should eventually be world-wide.

This, given the intent, is a matter for experts. Perhaps the best way to accomplish it is to set up in each region, Europe for example, an economic unit similar to the United States. That is, a unit within which there is one medium of exchange and no tariffs, no quotas, no governmental restrictions of trade. Let French industries, as they are, compete in France or Sweden with the Swiss without any artificial handicaps.

Let all of South America be such a unit. Let India be another. Let Russia join the European unit if she wishes or remain outside. Let events decide whether western Europe will fight Russia to free the Poles or whether the Poles will be able to free themselves.

Let the United States look to its industrial efficiency rather than its industrial power as the source of its wealth. Let it face the fact that both Canada and the United States would be better off if all the economic barriers were set aside, but Mexico, at the moment, would be disrupted by the same process. Let the United States set out to make some adjustments up in Mexico and some down in the United States as the first step to extending our area of free trade.

Basically let the Western world remember the importance of the individual. Remember that all organizations set up to reform tend to create and perpetuate new evils. Extend the vote. Check organizations. Depend on technical excellence for military security.

In short, realize that the principle of one-man, one-vote, should it go across borders today, would disrupt economic relations of long standing.

Why should any American agree to this, or any Western European, for that matter? There is an old story about Lovejoy, the abolitionist. Before speaking, he used to put a Bible on the rostrum and a gun alongside it and introduce abolition by saying: "This is for those who believe in the Bible and this is for those who don't." We all have the same choice now. We can advocate peace with justice on idealistic grounds or on the grounds that crime does not pay under existing conditions.

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Or what to take on a trip

Good Old Summertime

By Michael J. Ogden

From his column "In Perspective" in the Providence Evening Bulletin

UNTIL the past weekend, the last time I had gone anywhere for an extended trip my gear, as I now remember it, consisted of the following:

Carbine (1); helmet (1); helmet liner (1); web belt (1); trench knife (1); gas mask (1); mess kit (1); field jacket (1); O.D. shirt (1); O.D. trousers (pr.); wool socks (pr.); G.I. shoes (pr.). This, with a duffel bag holding extra clothing, and a knapsack containing odds and ends, was the limit allowed by the Air Transport Command for the men going overseas. For all A.T.C. or I knew, it could have done us for 20 years to come.

Last weekend the family objective was a relaxing trip to the country. Into the auto I put or caused to be put, not necessarily in any rational order, the following articles (with family answers to my random protests):

Children (3), Adults (3).

6x6 Play pen, semi-collapsible (1)—"We just can't let the baby run around on the wet grass."

Baby carriage, (1)—"He'll have to nap."

Stroller (1)—"He'll get tired."

Sun suits (5)—"It might be hot."

Umbrella (1)—"It might rain."

Snow Suit (1)—"It might snow."

Rubbers, galoshes (5 pr.)—"All right, you don't have to wear yours."

Blankets (10)—"It gets cool at night."

Sun glasses (3 pr.)—"There's a terrible glare on the water."

Kindling (Asstd. sizes, 60 pcs.)—"You can't start a fire with only newspaper."

Newspaper (Previous two months' *Journals* and *Bulletins*)—"To fire the kindling."

Logs (bu. bskt.)—"You can't go around chopping trees."

Baby oil (3 oz. in gallon jug)—"It's easier to carry that way."

Baby's toilet articles (innumerable)—"You never can tell."

Crackers (animal, ginger, salted, sweet, with icing, without icing, with filling . . . .)—"You have to have variety."

Carts, blocks, toy trains, rattles, horns, dolls, whistles, drum, bubble pipe, crayons, yo yo, ball, tennis racquets, scout knife, drawing book . . . —"The children get restless."

Suitcases (4)—"How else are you going to take dresses, shoes and the other little things?"

Potted plants (2)—"You can't leave them in the city without attention."

Bowl of gravy (1)—"I'll do no such thing."

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We also took a pressure cooker, four bananas ("They're very difficult to get"), oranges, soap flakes, scouring powder, scouring pads, silverware, glassware, sneakers, boots, loafers, slippers, coffee pot, fur piece, camera, chlorinated lime, lemons, window spray, gloves (white), gloves (work), lawn mower, electric clock, alarm clock, lemon pie (¼—"it's a sin to waste it"), bucket, mop, brief case (empty—"we might want to put something in it when we come back").

There were also pots and pans, poncho, women's topcoats (2), children's sweaters, pea jackets, chocolate syrup, flour, canned goods, chicken (½), jam, magazine, books, first aid kit, radio, cigarettes, eggs, coffee, paper napkins, seasoning, potatoes, baby food, rocking horse, floor lamp, searchlight, kitchenware and cartons (2) of "incidentals."

Times returned to house after getting everything and everyone pried into auto: Five. (a) "to see whether cellar light is out"—once. (b) "make sure gas is turned off"—once. (c) "be sure windows are locked"—once. (d) "take one last look around"—twice.

Things forgotten: key to country place, key to house in city, note for milkman to stop deliveries while away.

Times returned to house to rectify things forgotten after starting for country: Twice.

Final musing remark of wife as car gathers speed down street:

"Well, that wasn't too bad, was it? But just wait until we move to the beach for the summer."

• "I wonder is freedom holding the light—or is she just calling the waiter?"

—*Sunday Dispatch,* London

• "Normally, a man should live to the age of 150 years . . . if he starts to use my serum when his connective tissues begin to deteriorate and takes reasonable care of himself otherwise."—Alexander Alexandrovich Bogomolets, inventor of anti-recticular cytotoxic serum. (But the physician couldn't cure himself, with his own serum. His heart was too weak.)

• As the young man waited for his girl, he tried to make friends with the youngest son of the house. "I think I have met all of your family except your Uncle Henry," he said. "How does he look—I mean which side of the house does he look like?"

The youngest son weighed the question carefully. "I guess," he said finally, "the side with the bay window."

—*Volta Review*

• The average American business man lives longer with his desk than he does with his wife. He works with his desk eight hours a day and sticks to the same desk year after year, while one out of five marriages today ends in divorce. The Wood Office Furniture Institute is giving its postwar models the appeal that will cause executives to "divorce" their old desks and "carry on" with new ones—perhaps blonde (finish) models.

—*The Office*

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Trieste

Should it be internationalized or placed under the control of one country?

RESUMPTION IN PARIS

With regard to Trieste, extreme Left spokesmen in this country and elsewhere have expressed the view, between the Paris conferences, that the settlement is not important enough to justify Mr. Byrnes' opposition to the Russian solution. This view, frequently repeated, is calculated to create the impression that Byrnes is simply obstructionist in opposition to Russia, or he would concede a matter of such little consequence in the interests of international harmony.

The Trieste settlement, however, is of considerable consequence (it will be noticed that nowhere on either the Left or elsewhere is Mr. Molotov's resistance described as mere obstructionism over a matter of no consequence). The fact is that the Trieste case clearly involves the principle of ethnic determination in territorial settlements, as nearly as it can be applied, versus territorial settlements imposed under power considerations without reference to the inhabitants concerned. Under the worst possible approach —that of two groups of powers certain that there can be no peace between them—Trieste is merely a strategic point. But in the reconciliation of large interests to which the powers are pledged, justice argues for Trieste being politically administered by the Italian government, with which the people of Trieste have their cultural identity.

Not only justice argues for this, but prudence, and not only as to Trieste but as to the world. Establishment of a power-molded Europe, in which self-determination goes by the boards in favor of expedient arrangements favoring the purposes of great states, has always been prolific of social unrest leading to war. When Woodrow Wilson 28 years ago used the phrase "self-determination of peoples," he was only giving voice to what has been American feeling and policy since its founding—that the best world is one in which, within limits, all peoples determined their own cultures and their own governmental forms and functions.

—San Francisco Chronicle

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THE BIG FOUR AND ITALY

Any Italian peace shaped by desires for loot or revenge, no matter how it is dressed up, would weaken Italy disastrously with at least two unavoidable results.

Italian democracy would be doomed. For democracy cannot exist without hope, and economic ruin is the road to political extremism. Communism would reverse its startling failure in the recent election and feed on misery. Fascism would revive in force.

Further, a weakened Italy would be unable to maintain real independence and would become a helpless scene of explosive friction, pressure and rivalry between the great powers.

Just exactly this kind of conflict has developed over Trieste. Here we can clearly see what could happen to Italy.

Yugoslavia, representing Russia, and Italy, representing the United States and Britain, are battling for exclusive control of an Adriatic port. The fight really involves a great deal more—the fate of Austria, to whom Trieste is vital as a trading outlet.

If Austria is cut off from Trieste, the countries of the Danube basin, now subject to heavy pressure from Russia, would, like a despoiled Italy, be thrown into poverty, unemployment and general economic breakdown.

The diplomatic tug-of-war over Trieste actually then is a struggle for stakes far greater than a single seaport or group of nationals or strip of coastline.

Internationalization of the port under the United Nations has been proposed. Russia and the United States both are reported as opposed. Yet, if Trieste were to be internationalized, Italy, Yugoslavia and the small nations of the Danube basin all could use it freely.

But nations engaged in power rivalries reject such solutions. This often is true of us, even though we frequently state as a matter of foreign policy that we want to use our pressure and economic power to create islands of democracy in Europe. We are not trying to make such an island of Trieste; and Italy could suffer a similar fate.

If this should happen in Italy's case it would be particularly tragic because the Italians have just achieved the basis of a successful democracy against great odds.

In Italy, the objects to which our State Department repeatedly commits us—free elections, a representative form of government, a free press—already exist.

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But the only way to maintain Italian democracy is to uphold Italian independence. Democracy cannot survive in satellite, dependent and ruined countries.

—*New York Post*

TRIESTE

There will be scant reason for relief if another suggested solution, that of internationalization of the city of Trieste and the surrounding territory, is adopted. This will satisfy neither Italy nor Yugoslavia. What is much more important, it is very unlikely to serve the interests of peace. In the haste to withdraw our forces which has already dangerously weakened our bargaining position in Europe, Mr. Byrnes has promised that Anglo-American troops will be evacuated from Italy 90 days after the peace treaties are signed, and internationalization may be the one way to leave enough police force in this explosive area to prevent a Yugoslav coup.

This is about all that can be said for the suggested settlement. It may get the Foreign Ministers out of a hole, but only temporarily, for no one in Paris or elsewhere can hope that an international regime offers a permanent solution for this particular problem. On the contrary, it is proposed, according to the reports, as a 10-year plan, and on almost any terms it is bound to keep alive the national and international tensions and ambitions that make Trieste a trouble center and a danger spot. Separated from Italy, it will be more than ever what it was for decades before its liberation from Austrian rule, a constant stimulant to irredentist agitation. For Yugoslavia it will be an equally constant temptation to violence.

A Danzig at the head of the Adriatic would be an incentive to war rather than an invitation to peace. It would be far better to take the bull by the horns and make at once the clear-cut decision that will have to be made eventually. A boundary drawn on one of the three lines proposed by the American, British or French deputies will entail a severe loss to Italy, both of territory and towns predominantly Italian, and will not satisfy the Yugoslavs, who demand the whole of Venezia Giulia. It will not satisfy the Russians, who desire control of Trieste to complete their control of the Danube valley, of which it is the natural outlet. But it will not be actively resisted by the Yugoslavs unless Russia gives the signal. Russia did not give the signal when Marshal Tito threatened to move last year, and there is no reason to believe now that the Soviet government would risk war for the sake of Trieste.

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Any of the proposed frontiers, plus a free port, represents a a compromise for everybody concerned, but a fair compromise that has a chance of enduring. As a prescription for pacification instead of conflict, it offers firm ground on which the United States can afford to stand firmly.

—*The New York Times*

ISSUE OF TRIESTE

The issue of Trieste is one that is primarily important and significant not in the immediate background of the two agitated claimants for possession of the city on the upper Adriatic, but in the perspective of the Danubian economic area and the relations of the powers to it.

Trieste is one of those issues which cannot be settled, no matter what the disposition, to the satisfaction of both Italy and Yugoslavia. *The Economist* of London argued reasonably and with logic that the best all-around settlement would be to make Trieste a free city and held that the analogy of Danzig, which was immediately involved in the start of the last war, did not apply as such in this instance.

The analogy of Trieste and Danzig does not hold together in certain vital points. Danzig was not the cause of the start of the last war; it was a pretext used by Nazi Germany to make war. The antagonists in the Danzig dispute were two nations of unequal strength, with Germany far superior to Poland, while in the Trieste dispute the two nations immediately involved, Yugoslavia and Italy, are approximately of the same strength. Danzig with the Polish Corridor separated East Prussia from Prussia and was a geographical as well as a sentimental irritant to Germany, while no such deep important geographical element enters into the Trieste issue. Danzig enjoyed a ripe economic prosperity despite the inroads of the rival port of Gydnia built by Poland, while Trieste, if dependent upon the trade of either Italy or Yugoslavia without the trade of the rich Danubian hinterland, would be negligible.

We now come to the crux of the issue of Trieste. The Soviet Union is not putting up such a stubborn fight for Trieste in behalf of Yugoslavia because she loves Yugoslavia or wants to boost the interest of a nation closely associated with her—indeed, a puppet. Russia is fighting for what she considers her own national interests in the Danubian area of which Trieste was, in the days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire when it was an economic unit, the outlet to the sea and which is today still the gateway of that area.

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What Russia is seeking is exclusiveness in the Danubian area by a closed economy and Trieste is a keystone of that exclusiveness.

On the other hand, the United States and Britain seek to open the Danube area and stop it, including the Balkans, from becoming a closed economy within the Russian sphere. We and Britain have our own trade interests at stake in the Danubian area and therefore have a direct interest in the disposition of Trieste.

Trieste as Trieste, as an issue between Italy and Yugoslavia, is enlarged out of its true proportions as against the greater interests on a world-wide scale of Russia vis-a-vis the United States and Great Britain. It is an irritant and a trouble spot and will remain so to both Yugoslavia and Italy, but because there is so much more at stake all around the world in the collaboration between the big powers and the need of conciliation to secure harmonious relations, the issue of Trieste as an irritant and trouble spot to the big powers should be minimized and resolved. The issue, in the important analysis, goes back to the big powers and to their need of harmony and collaboration for peace and an orderly world. That must be kept constantly in sight and not be lost by the agitations of the two immediate disputants.

Because we believe that a closed Danubian economy would work to the disadvantage of freer trade between the nations and because free and mutually profitable trade is one of the necessary ingredients for a peaceful and orderly world, we believe that a settlement of the issue of Trieste should be made with that end in view and not primarily to serve the special interests of one nation —in this case, Russia.

• A young father exhausted from his day's work in the office returned to his "castle" only to be disturbed by his rambunctious kindergarteners. He scolded them and sent them to bed early. The next morning he found the following note pinned on his door:

"Be good to your children and they will be good to you. Yours truly, God."

—*The Providence Evening Bulletin*

• A four-year-old was watching her older sister play the piano for some visitors. She endured the adulation of her sister for just so long and then remarked to the visitors: "I can play, too, only I can't use the brakes."

—*Cumberland Presbyterian*

• A farmer was robbed each year by "city folks" who picked his hazel nut crop. When his son came home from agricultural college, he erected the following sign: "Rattlesnakes are never found here but the *Corylus Avellana* abound generally. Trespassers enter here at own risk." The farmer had the full crop to himself that season. (*Corylus Avellana* is Latin for hazel nut.)

—*National Canvas Goods Manufacturer's Review*

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Tonight's Moon:

Because of what it shall be

Out of what it was,

The half-moon shines as brightly

As the whole moon does.

With its self-possession nightly

Of father and of son,

What an immortal family

The moon is, all in one!

WITTER BYNNER

God's Fool:

We also know derangement in our way,

When fact gives place to seeming

Till illusion drawn by night is gone by day,

But your whole end is dreaming.

You do not merely roam as others do

With a trail lost until the sun break:

From life or death, whichever dream be true,

Whether you live or die, you never wake.

—WITTER BYNNER

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Emily's Suitors

By George F. Whicher

Professor of English, Amherst College

AN objective biographer trying to form a true impression of a person whose contemporaries are dead must rely on highly conflicting testimonies. Whether he likes it or not, he must face the problem of sifting evidence and deciding on the relative credibility of a host of witnesses. He will be seriously misled if he believes all that he hears.

As a resident of Amherst professionally interested in American literature, I have not been able to avoid a concern for the biography of Emily Dickinson. About the time of her centennial, in 1930, the books currently available provided this fascinating poet with two dates of birth, two dates of death and three conflicting love stories. People would write me out of the blue, asking which of the statements in print were to be believed. A book on Emily became inevitable.

But, both before and since writing *This Was a Poet,* I have collected anecdotes and impressions of the Amherst Dickinsons. My researches first and last have taken me to the poor house and to the morgue. I have talked with collateral members of the family, with people who in their childhood played in the Dickinson yard while "Miss Emily" was still an unseen presence and with many sons and daughters of her friends and contemporaries. From these interviews I have gleaned valuable insights, besides meeting many delightful persons. But the chief effect of years spent in exploring the Dickinson saga has been to make me an expert in the detection of myth, legend and slips of memory.

The amount of error that inheres in recollections of a person who has become famous is appallingly large. One of the rarest of human capacities seems to be the power to report accurately. During the war someone at one of the universities undertook to investigate the amount of truth contained in the various bits of gossip and rumor heard on the campus. His conclusion, I believe, was that there was no verifiable truth in any of it. I would not go so far as to say that all the stories one can hear about Emily Dickinson are without foundation, but certainly a large number of them are highly unveracious. Sooner or later, however, someone is found to believe them and they get immortalized in books.

The least harmful are the anonymous inventions inspired by the perennial human habit of creating myth and folk-lore. Tall stories of this type carry their own antidote with them. An amusing example that recently came out of the ground in Amherst has not yet, as far as I know, been repeated by any biogra-

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pher. No doubt it will be in time, though I think it safe to say that there is not a word of truth in it.

Emily Dickinson's mother, so the story runs, was generally a mouse-like creature, completely dominated by her masterful husband. But on one occasion just before Emily was born, she asserted herself. She decided that the Dickinson bedroom needed new wallpaper. The Squire said no, this was not the time, but Mrs. Dickinson was in a condition to have her whims indulged. She persisted, even going to the incredible length of making arrangements with the local paperhanger herself. This man was a testy character, who nevertheless could do almost anything around a house and so was in constant demand. He told Mrs. Dickinson that he could give her just one day, some weeks ahead, and he would promise to come then only if she would guarantee to take him at that time and let nothing interfere. She promised and the bargain was struck. The paperhanger arrived punctually on the day—and so did Mrs. Dickinson's baby. There was no other bedroom available. A spirited contest between the doctor and the paperhanger ended in a draw, and Emily Dickinson was born while the last strips of paper were going on.

There is no ulterior motive in this anecdote. It is a pure example of purposeless creativeness, art for art's sake. But the legends of Emily's love affairs are nearly always colored by the prejudices of the person reporting them. They demand the most careful verification. Since Emily Dickinson almost alone among nineteenth century American poets wrote a considerable body of love lyrics, it is a matter of some critical importance to determine how far this shy and secluded spinster was drawing upon personal experience, reading or sheer intuition for her insights into passion. Unfortunately this is a subject which has rarely been handled with entire candor.

If we rely on the statements of Emily Dickinson's niece—a reliance that I cannot recommend—we must suppose that "my Aunt had lovers, like Browning's roses—'all the way' —to the end," and that she "bewitched" a considerable list of men of varied profession and attainment: "college boys, tutors, law students, the brothers of her girl friends,—several times their affianced bridegrooms even." We are told, furthmore, that in later life she indulged in friendships "literary, Platonic, Plutonic," a distinction which we are left to interpret as best we may.

Another and more recent writer with presumably equal opportunities of knowing the facts and with equal reluctance to disclose them takes a more transcendental view of the shadowy lovers. Emily's love, she says, was only "an enveloping effulgence," an emotion that eludes psychological classification. "Any object, man or earthworm, entering its sphere of light was caught in shining words. If, now and then, it was stimulated by the sight or the touch of another human being, that moment was transitory, while love, 'the royal infinity,' remained." Evidently the art of manipulating shining words did not perish with Emily.

In comparison with these two

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testimonies Emily Dickinson's own words ring with an admirable homely downrightness. "My life has been too simple and stern to embarrass any," she wrote. It is difficult to detect anything Plutonic in that or any trace of enveloping effulgence either.

Nevertheless Miss Josephine Pollitt in her *Emily Dickinson, the Human Background of Her Poetry* introduced a love story which, if it had really occurred, would have greatly embarrassed everyone concerned. According to her the great love of Miss Dickinson's life was for the husband of Helen Hunt, the future author of *Ramona,* a friend of Emily's from childhood days. I used to suppose that Miss Pollitt's story was pure supernatural revelation, vouchsafed to her in the Boston Public Library as she read in the manuscript notes of Thomas Wentworth Higginson of his first meeting with Emily Dickinson: "Major Hunt interested her more than any man she ever saw," and as she neglected to perpend the significance of the words that followed, "he said, that her great dog 'understood gravitation'." But among Miss Pollitt's genuine services to Emily Dickinson biography was her identification of the "Philadelphia preacher" to whom Emily was devoted as the Reverend Charles Wadsworth. Some of her information was evidently derived from Mr. Wadsworth's family. Since Emily Dickinson in a letter then unpublished had referred to Charles Wadsworth as "my dearest earthly friend," it occurred to me that the preacher's descendants might just conceivably have wished to minimize his connection with an impressionable young lady in Amherst by intimating that her affections were bestowed elsewhere. The attempt to verify this suspicion took me to the Philadelphia morgue.

Charles Wadsworth's younger son, Dr. William Wadsworth, was at that time the city coroner. It appeared that he had small use for Emily Dickinson's poetry, but he was very proud of belonging to a family which had given two great poets to the English-speaking world.

"Henry Wadsworth Longfellow?" I ventured.

"And William Wordsworth. Wadsworth and Wordsworth are variant spellings of the same name."

It suddenly occurred to me that the man before me was the image of Wordsworth in his old age, the same rugged North-of-England features. He seemed, too, a proud and lonely spirit such as one might meet on Yorkshire or Cumberland moors. He spoke of his father's great powers as a preacher, of his happy marriage, of his utter devotion to his profession. There were no letters from Emily Dickinson among his papers. "Shrieks and howls from Amherst," said Dr. Wadsworth, referring to her poems. I left him with the conviction that the father of this man had never been anyone's lover.

A second Emily Dickinson love story appeared in Miss Genevieve Taggard's *Life and Mind of Emily Dickinson* in the same year as Miss Pollitt's. This legend could be traced to Emily's sister Lavinia in the 1890's through any one of three intermediaries, Mrs. Aurelia Davis,

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Miss Buffum and Miss Hall, all one time residents of Amherst and close friends of Lavinia. It was from the last named that Miss Taggard received the information that Emily had really been in love with a certain George Gould, her brother's classmate. The only confirmation of this intelligence was the fact that Emily had written to Gould, as to several others, a humorous valentine, which Gould promptly printed in the undergraduate magazine of the moment. Miss Taggard exhumed the incriminating document.

Mrs. Davis had died just before I entered Amherst College and I never encountered Miss Hall, but I did have the honor of one interview with Miss Vryling Wilder Buffum, who spent the last years of her life in Keene, New Hampshire. She was a massive woman, with a foot which much putting down had rendered implacable. Her mind was not hospitable to new ideas. She and her mother had been near neighbors and cronies of Lavinia Dickinson. When some of Emily's love poems were published, early in the 1890's, a certain amount of gossip began to circulate, the sum and substance of which was that Emily had been in love with a married man. Lavinia evidently did not want to have this rumor even discussed. It was too difficult to explain just how Emily's desire for intellectual companionship and religious assurance had differed from ordinary passion. So she called in her friends one by one and presented each with a most impressive disclosure of Emily's lifelong devotion to her brother's classmate, a blameless clergyman who might safely be nominated as the supposed lover since it was reasonably certain that he had passed completely out of Emily's life after his graduation from Amherst in 1850.

Lavinia Dickinson possessed a matchless gift of dramatization and was herself the easy dupe of whatever she decided to believe. Her story carried conviction to its awed hearers and remained an article of faith to them and their descendants. When I pointed out to Miss Buffum that it was not George Gould whom Emily Dickinson had called her dearest earthly friend but another man, she had no patience with the notion. "I cannot agree with your view," she announced, bringing down the heavy foot. "From what Miss Vinnie told me and from what Aunt Aurelia Davis used to say I cannot." That was that.

The most difficult and perplexing errors are the small slips of memory. My increasing conviction is that what the mind retains after a lapse of many years is almost never to be trusted without documentary verification. I say almost, because I have encountered one instance of a woman with nearly infallible power of recollection. The late Mary Adèle Allen, daughter of an Amherst merchant, had passed her childhood in the first president's house facing the village common. She was an early student at Smith College and spent a long lifetime teaching Greek in New Haven and in Holyoke. When she was a small girl, one of the leading men of Amherst was President Julius H. Seelye, a bearded and benign Olympian with a weakness for children. Taking little Della Allen on his knee, he said to her in effect, "My

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dear, I want you to have a good memory. The way to learn to remember things is to think over before you go to sleep at night everything you have done during the day, and as soon as you wake up in the morning make yourself repeat in imagination your actions of yesterday. Then you will be able to remember things always and life will not slip away from you without leaving treasures behind."

The little girl was impressed and followed his instructions with the result that in her seventies Miss Allen could still retrace her goings and comings in childhood with minutest detail. I think she could have placed every blade of grass that grew between the bricks on the walk before her father's house. I have listened for hours to her descriptions of persons and places in the Amherst of the 1860's and 1870's, and I have frequently checked her statements by written records, finding her accurate to an astonishing degree. Once in a while she would be uncertain of a date, but I do not think I ever detected her in an error of fact.

Many of her recollections have been preserved in her little book called *Around a Village Green* and it is no secret that MacGregor Jenkins' vivid evocation of the Dickinson house and garden, with intimations of the poet's shy sympathy for children, in *Emily Dickinson, Friend and Neighbor,* owes much to the tenacious memory of the little girl who played with him.

Miss Allen remains a shining exception to the general rule. Ordinarily the more positively a memory is held the less likely is it to be based on fact. A great deal of misinformation has crept into books on Emily Dickinson because the writers of them were not sufficiently alert to the unreliability of recollection and failed to test their informant's accuracy. The test is very simple. Turn the conversation to uncontroversial matters of fact that can be positively verified and see if the informant is capable of citing names, dates and circumstances without unconscious blunders. The chances are she will make enough mistakes in five minutes to rouse your suspicion of any momentous disclosures that she may have to offer. But do not try to disillusion her. It is safer to rob a lioness of her cub than to dispossess a confirmed romancer of her error.

One of the most honest recollections of Emily Dickinson came from a man of her own generation, a cousin, who had known and admired her for many years. In later life his daughters besought him for some details about her, but he was always reluctant to speak. Finally he consented to tell them all he could remember, and they gathered in expectancy to hear him. After a prolonged struggle he brought out these words, "She had more charm than anyone I ever knew."

That was all, but who would wish to add to it?

• Pessimist: a person who builds dungeons in the air.

—*Kearns Review*

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Country Comment:

Four Hundred Freedoms

I LOVE freedom as much as anybody else. Freedom that we want but do not have I am willing to struggle for. Freedom we already have but are in danger of losing I am determined to be vigilant about. But the freedom I am most interested in is the freedom we have and will continue to have—but sometimes do not know that we have—I speak of the Four Hundred Freedoms.

Freedom, like the old Roman god Janus, has two faces: freedom to do things and freedom *not* to do them.

Freedom of the Air gives us one of our most beautiful freedoms: the incontestable freedom *not* to listen to tripe and baloney. Or if there is only tripe and baloney on the air at any time, the freedom not to listen at all. In short, the freedom to turn off the radio. On the positive side there is our esteemed freedom to listen occasionally to the sublime music of Bach. And not only Bach, but other composers worthy of being mentioned with him. This is true for all radio owners. Country-dwellers enjoy the added freedom of never having to listen to their neighbors' radios, be it Bach or baloney.

Under *Freedom of the Press* comes the universal though often overlooked freedom *not* to read anything not worth reading. In other words, freedom from murder, scandal, propaganda and advertising. On the other side is the freedom to read the greatest books of all time, and to read them free of charge, thanks to the free public library.

Freedom of Dress includes the magnificent freedom of wearing old clothes whenever and wherever we wish to, whether from an economic, ethical, aesthetic or purely self-indulgent point of view. Along with this are more specialized freedoms, such as the freedom to go barefoot in summer, both indoors on cool waxed floors and outdoors on cool lawns.

At first glance *Freedom of Purchase* might seem to be gravely limited by shortages, rationing and even lack of cash. But our freedom *not* to buy anything we don't need, and don't want, remains pristine and unimpaired.

Freedom branches out in so many directions that it is difficult to know what to mention next, even in this brief page of samples. By way of illustration I mention our freedom to look up at the stars every starry night. To compare their magnitudes and study their configurations, or just to revel in their mystery and unballyhooed grandeur. Of course, city lights and tall buildings may interfere, but the stars are there and the freedom is there.

The reader can easily complete the 400. And he can do so without including anything visionary such as freedom from hate, freedom from suspicion, freedom from greed, freedom from prejudice, freedom from bigotry, and freedom from all the 4,000 varieties of assininity.

ROBERT FRANCIS.

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Some light on the feud

Black vs. Jackson

By Fred Rodell

From his column in The Progressive

EVEN to those unaware of the issues at stake in the current explosion on the Supreme Court, the conduct of the two men directly involved must reveal the manner of men they are. Justice Robert Jackson, purporting to be concerned for the dignity of the Supreme Court, disregarded the request of the President and released to the press an hysterical outburst against a colleague, Justice Hugo Black. It is hard to imagine any action better calculated to bring Mr. Roosevelt's Newly Dealt Court into public disrepute—and conservative commentators, from Arthur Krock to Mark Sullivan, have seized on the incident to damn the Court, to damn Black and to demand that both men, for the future prestige of the Court, immediately resign.

By contrast, Justice Black has refused to dignify Jackson's blast or further undignify the Court by public comment. Defense of his own position practically shouts to be stated—yet Black, who could easily atomize Jackson's attack on him, remains self-contained and silent. It needs no psychiatrist to tell which of the two men is confident of the strength of his position.

Since Black disdains to speak for himself, it may not be amiss to review the merits of the chief charge which Jackson brings against him. Jackson accuses Black of having sat on a case which was argued before the Court by Black's one-time partner. True. But Jackson deliberately neglects to add several facts which directly bear on the propriety or impropriety of Black's conduct.

The practice is by no means new or unusual. For instance, Justice Roberts had no compunction about sitting on case after case argued by his old partner, McCracken, of the firm of Montgomery, McCracken, Walker, and Rhodes of Philadelphia. The late Justice Butler, in more than one instance, cast the deciding vote in cases not merely argued by his old Minnesota firm but involving the interests of the Great Northern railway, his former client. Even the late Chief Justice Stone, although he preferred not to sit when the New York firm with which he was once associated was acting as counsel, broke this rule in the Northern Securities case in order that the Court might have a quorum.

For over a century, the Court has agreed within itself that disqualification in any case should be left to the conscience of the individual Justice concerned. As the scheme has worked out, Justices regularly disqualify themselves when any lawyer involved in the case is a close family friend; they usually do so when one of the litigants is an old

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client. Beyond that, there is not so much as an unspoken custom which demands self-disqualification on the ground for which Jackson attacked Black.

There are other things which Jackson's cable cleverly kept from public notice. He did not indicate that the case in question would have been decided the same way had Black refrained from voting. Since the lower court decision was in favor of the union, it would have stood up in the face of a four-four tie. He did not state that all the Justices, including the late Chief Justice Stone, were in complete sympathy with Black's position when the issue was raised in June, 1945, with the exception of Jackson himself and Black-hating, trouble-making Justice Frankfurter. Nor did Jackson point out that Black's partnership with Crampton Harris, the lawyer in the disputed case, was terminated 19 years ago, and that Black has seen almost nothing of Harris since that time.

Finally, Jackson neglected to mention that Black's own scrupulousness about a possible prejudice on his part has been proved time and again when he has disqualified himself from hearing cases involving the Federal Communications Commission because his brother-in-law, Clifford Durr, happens to be a member of that Commission.

Thus, on the merits of Jackson's invented issue, Black's position is unassailable; Jackson simply makes no sense. The $64 question in Washington and, for that matter, wherever lawyers gather, has been—why did Jackson do it?

The easy and generally accepted answer is that Jackson was so piqued at his failure, for the second time, to achieve the Chief Justiceship that he struck out blindly at the man whom he blamed above all others for keeping him from it.

But there is more to the whole squabble than appears on the surface, and it is high time the story was told, however briefly. Men do not get so mad as Jackson obviously got on the basis of one or two incidents or one or two personal disappointments.

The playing up in the press of the personal angle of the fight within the Court has tended to conceal its basis and its source. Essentially, it is not that Black cannot stand Jackson's face or that Frankfurter is allergic to Douglas' manner. The publicized feud is, at bottom, ideological. And it is no over-simplification to say categorically that Black and Douglas have long represented the liberal or left wing of the Court whereas Frankfurter and Jackson have consistently upheld the conservative view in most important cases.

Even so, why should this quarrel achieve the quality of bitterness which Jackson has made public property? After all, on the old Court, Justices Holmes and McReynolds were close personal friends although Holmes was the symbol of liberalism and McReynolds was perhaps the farthest right of the Four Horsemen of Reaction.

The answer lies in the temperaments of Justices Frankfurter and Jackson. Frankfurter, the constant favor-seeker who hoped to dominate the Court from the moment of his appointment, needs no discussion here, although it is an even bet in

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Washington that he had more than a little to do, behind the scenes, with Jackson's attack on Black. But to understand that attack thoroughly, it is necessary to know the nature of Mr. Justice Jackson's personality.

Jackson is a man of extreme intellectual arrogance. He is the sort who tends to think of himself as the smartest fellow in any group, who does not bother to conceal this feeling, and who is usually right. When he came on the Court, however, he met his match and his master. Habitually he found his slick and seductive arguments countered and overweighed by a combination of solidity and agility from the mind of Justice Black. In countless cases, Black would meet Jackson on his own ground and so out-argue him that he would carry a previously unconvinced majority of the Court with him, leaving Jackson to complain in dissent. As it would for any man, this rankled. It rankled especially for Jackson, for he was intelligent enough to know that he had been beaten on straight intellectual grounds—an unusual experience for him.

Here is the real source of the Black-Jackson feud. A careful reading of Jackson's cable reveals it plainly. Jackson talks of being "bullied" by Black. Yet how can one grown man, in a dispute of equals, be bullied by another—except in the sense of being beaten to earth by the intellectual weight and soundness of an opposing argument? Jackson felt himself bullied simply because so frequently he could not win.

The personalizing of the dispute on the Court has been, from the beginning, the responsibility of Justices Frankfurter and Jackson—who cannot stand to lose. But it is a great error to think of that dispute as anything other, at bottom, than fight for power between conservatives and progressives in the murky field of law. It is therefore absurd to expect that the new Chief Justiec, Fred Vinson, will be able to smooth over deep-rooted differences by the use of political tact, for which he is famous.

Vinson may be able to keep the Court's quarrels within the confines of the Court's private sessions. He may even be able to tone down the acerbity with which the two wings of the Court aggravate their differences when they meet together. But he will never be able, by either persuasion or compromise, to bring such fighting progressives as Black and Douglas in ideological line with such pseudo-liberals as Frankfurter and Jackson—or vice versa.

Most of the present storm will have blown over by next Fall when the Court reconvenes. Black will not have resigned and it is highly doubtful whether Jackson will resign, despite his old and known desire for the New York governorship and despite the unfortunate reaction to him which his angry accusation has provoked even among those who share his conservative views. If Vinson's task is seen as one of reconciling personal differences within the Court, it will be plenty tough. If it is seen as one of reconciling the the conflicting philosophies of law and government which are at the basis of the Supreme Court split, it is utterly impossible.

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

POLITICS, LABOR AND LIFE

HOWARD FAST, who has of recent years brought to literary life several well known figures of the past, makes a stirring and absorbing novel out of a lesser known (in these times) personage. *The American,* A Middle Western Legend, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.00), is fiction, but it is the story of a character that is bound to become flesh and blood even in print. It tells of the rise of John Peter Altgeld, farm boy, lawyer, politician and one-time governor of Illinois.

By virtue of its classification as fiction, Fast is enabled to invent situations and conversations that a biography could not afford; by the same token, the thread of the story and our interest is continuously maintained.

Altgeld was not born in the United States; his father emigrated from Germany when John was a tot. That same brief span of time was sufficient to bar him from being a presidential candidate at the height of his power.

Of his life on the family farm there is enough told to show the development of his character—rugged, forceful and determined to get somewhere. His brief career in the Union Army was another formative influence; he was a stripling seeing the world and learning about people. A portion of the story is missing; Altgeld's rise to a judgeship in Chicago is the next step after his wanderings to the West. Apparently he was firmly established as a good judge when the Haymarket labor riots occurred, and there was public clamor for the death penalty for the labor leaders—designated anarchists—held responsible for the bomb-throwing.

The case is reviewed for the reader through a carpenter friend of the judge. The chief victim, Albert Parsons, despite every indication of innocence, was hanged, as well as two other leaders. Two were imprisoned.

It is the judge's uncertainty about Parson's guilt that eventually leads him, when he has become governor of Illinois, to pardon the two prisoners, against the misgivings of the politicians, the capitalistic group and the press. Up to that point the indications are that Altgeld himself was a political opportunist. His taking up his stand on the side of labor dated from that moment. There are suspicions that even then his course was dictated by the advantages to be won, but ultimately he was definitely guided by a desire to do something for labor, which would do something for him. Shrewd and compelling, he fought President Cleveland for leadership of the Democratic party and won.

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Into the story come famous figures: Clarence Darrow, Eugene Debs, Brand Whitlock, "Bath House John" Coughlin and William Jennings Bryan. (A little private research develops a curious fact: the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* stated that Altgeld was an enthusiastic supporter of Bryan. According to Fast, Altgeld bitterly opposed Bryan until the leadership of Illinois politics was at stake, then he gracefully led the capitulation. Before that he was all for Richard Bland of Missouri.) The old sixteen to one silver slogan was chiefly bait, but under Bryan's spell-binding the convention was stampeded. Here, too, it is evident that Altgeld was far from a visionary in politics, although he was devoting himself to reform.

The industrial and business kings of the 1880's and 1890's—Marshall Field, Pullman, McCormick, Morgan, Phil Armour and others—are portrayed in a fashion to delight labor organizers. The newspapers, present New York and Chicago dailies included, get their share.

Bryan's defeat, accomplished, according to the book, by the simple expedient of the factories shutting down before election as a threat to the workers if Bryan should be elected, meant the end of Altgeld's power in politics. Although he tried to regain his place, failing health brought his career to an end in his early fifties.

Fast's story is entertaining in itself, but at the present stage of labor unrest and of the extreme swinging of the pendulum, it is of special interest for those who would seek the human interest angle in the struggle between capital and labor. Fast's sympathies lie with the underdog, but he is honest enough to know that politics, and even the most altruistic of politicians, trade on the votes of the common herd and usually win. *The American* is a textbook on American politics, as well as good reading.

BRIEFER COMMENT

WORLD AFFAIRS

Those who have relished *Here Is Your War* and *Brave Men* will find in *Last Chapter,* by Ernie Pyle, (Holt, $2.50), the final series of his dispatches, this time from the Pacific. They ended with his death in action in April, 1945. While an undercurrent of impending misfortune may be noted, Pyle's devotion to his fellow humans is maintained throughout. *Last Chapter* completes his work for the record.

Christopher Burney, an Englishman, was a prisoner in Buchenwald for 15 months. Out of his experiences and observations there he offers his opinions of the prisoners of other nationalities in *The Dungeon Democracy,* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.00). His object appears to be to show how different nationals reacted to the confinement and brutality of the Nazis, and whether correct or not, it is at least a candid evaluation of varied types of people. The Russians seem to have ranked high, the French, very, very low.

Those who like to discuss the pro-

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per division and subdivision of Europe will find ammunition for their debates in *Peace Atlas of Europe,* by Samuel Van Valkenburg, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, in co-operation with the Foreign Policy Association, $2.00). The author considers the various nations in detail, and with the aid of maps makes clear what he thinks are the pressing problems of each group. There's a lot of information in it.

An appraisal of the role of Mahatma Gandhi is the topic of *The Mahatma and the World,* by Krishnalal Shridharani (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.50). It contains a somewhat candid study of Gandhi, his youth, family, tastes and education. Beyond that it is descriptive of the Mahatma's relation with the government in India, his extreme views on some customs, on morality and on Indian political needs. Many of his ideas do not fit our modern living, but then he is thinking of India, not of us.

Silent Is the Vistula, by Irena Orska, (Longman's, $3.00), is the story of a Polish woman member of the Home Army, who lived through the Warsaw uprising and the slaughter by the Germans of the civilian population as well as the military forces. Translated from the Polish by Marta Erdman, it is an account of personal experiences, tragedy and the everlasting hope of defeating the invaders or at least withstanding them spiritually.

Frank C. Hibben, anthropologist, writes of the discoveries in the past score of years of evidences of habitation of America 10,000 to 25,000 years ago. The discovery of the so-called Folsom man and of the Sandia man opened a new line of investigation, and Dr. Hibben makes an interesting report on this always promising topic in *The Lost Americans,* (Crowell, $2.50).

The question of consumer co-ops is discussed in *The War on Nutrition and Poverty,* the Rôle of Consumer Co-operatives, by J. Murray Luck (Harper's, $2.50). Dr Luck is president of the Palo Alto, California, co-op., and presents a down-to-earth conception of the place of the organization in the economic life of the country. His book is chiefly on food supplies as a need for adequate nutrition. While he admits governments have at times aided the poor in the war of food requirements, he believes the co-ops are vital as a check against neglect and indifference on the part of industry and a capitalistic society.

Folks Do Get Born, by Marie Campbell, (Rinehart, $3.00), tells of the business of "borning" in rural Georgia, most of it in the hands of Negro midwives. There are numerous incidents to show the troubles and sufferings of the unenlightened population, stories that are amusing and some that are pathetic. Besides the picture of misery, there is a lesson.

A little book, mostly margins and illustrations, deserves special mention. *The Little President,* by Don Calhoun, (Crowell, $1.50), is a fable, with pictures in colors, to show how the author's little son could run the country without messing it up any more than the grown folks do. It is humorous and gently satirical, and there's more than a grain of meaning in it.

The story of the British naval

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war against Napoleon from 1793 to 1805 is told in *Empire and the Sea,* by Fletcher Pratt, (Holt, $3.50). It is related from the viewpoint of the English. Mixing English political life with a narrative of the goings-on at sea, makes a good volume for lovers of the deep, and a commentary on the powers that move a nation's strings.

POETRY

The Big Road, by Norman Rosten (Rinehart, $2.50), is a narrative poem about the journey of man down the ages across the great roads built by him, from the Appian Way to the Alcan Highway. It is an ambitious undertaking, competently fashioned. The building of the Alcan road, which takes up most of the volume, is particularly close to home, for here Rosten's soldier-characters say their pieces in language that is authentic and clear. You don't have to be a poetry lover to enjoy it.

FICTION

Bernard Clare by James T. Farrell (Vanguard, $2.75), is definitely Farrell, with his customary devil-may-care hero, in this instance a budding writer in New York. The scene in part is Greenwich Village, in part all of the city and its people. Farrell's men and their women are anything but shy violets, and their language and actions are in accord. It is dated in the 1920's with prohibition and all it entailed. Farrell does know human nature, particularly the lower octaves.

Light and summery, just an old-fashioned wilderness and Indian story, is *Wilderness Adventure,* by Elizabeth Page, (Rinehart, $2.50). It is a tale of the war between the French and the English in 1745, but the action is through Virginia, southwestward to the Louisiana country, with a kidnapped white girl as an excuse and a slight love setting as incentive.

The Gallant Years, by Anne Powers, (Bobbs-Merrill, $2.75), is a robust adventure story of old Ireland in 1398, with Richard II's men bent on teaching the Irish a lesson. The plot centers on the various aspirants for the hand of the chief's daughter, and there is action, Irish humor, Irish hot blood and a generous sprinkling of Irish phrases, names and words to give it color. But a glossary at the back solves all.

A sea-faring tale of a ship and especially of the men who man it is *Wine For My Brothers,* by Robert Emmett Higginbotham, (Rinehart, $2.50). It is a little different, and a good study of character.

No Better Land, by Laban C. Smith, (Macmillan, $2.75), is the life of a large and thrifty family of a Wisconsin farmer. Made up of the infinite number of things that concern farm life, from food and hogs to marriage and births, it is a leisurely story.

• Employer to secretarial applicant: "I hope you realize the importance of punctuation."

Applicant: "Oh, yes, sir. I always get to work on time."

• Shades of the Inquisition!

Earth is Flat, believers please write (names not divulged).—Write Box N. 176.

Personal ad in *The Times*

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

AS the summer becomes torrid on Broadway, the business of producing plays along the Great White Way goes into retirement. The few plays of the season that survived continue to be patronized by the slower citizens, and the only recent plays that remain open for business are the two musical shows that should attract the visiting buyers, *Annie Get Your Gun* and *Around The World*. Personalities are offered in each of these,—Ethel Merman and Orson Welles, the former inimitable as Barnum's sharp-shooting prodigy; the latter indefatigable as sleuth and magician in his own adaptation and production of Jules Vernes' venerable *Eighty Day Around The World*. After the exciting days of the Old Vic repertory, things are extremely quiet in Manhattan, except when *la* Merman's robustious songs soar to the rafters. And although in this first post-war summer the straw-hat circuit is again in action, the early reports from the reconverted barns are far from heaven-shaking.

It is the practice of the summer theatres to stage pleasant one or two-week-revivals with visiting stars —Tallulah Bankhead in *Private Lives* in Connecticut, Helen Hayes in a semi-classic in Bucks County. There was a time when the summer saw tryouts of new plays with considerable frequency. That is how *Life With Father* began its long career from Maine to New York to Hollywood, with several road tours thrown in for good measure. But, by and large, the unproven new plays were unable to entice the local gentry, and those that were enthusiastically received in the country proved a sore disappointment and resulted in a considerable loss of money when producers were deluded into transplanting them to the big, bad city. So there are bound to be few revelations as the professional actors bask in the sunlight. At the moment only two plays of interest are likely to be unwrapped in rustic surroundings—at Westport, Connecticut, a curious Arkansas folk-tale, *The Devil Take a Whittler,* by the regionalist playwright, Weldon Stone; at Woodstock, *Drums of Peace,* a drama of the occupation of Germany by two exceptionally alert writers, Edward Mably and Leonard Mins, who are troubled over the possibility of the remilitarization of Germany with assistance from American cartelists.

The lull has extended to the other arts—the ballet, for instance, and motion pictures. Among an undiminished number of films only two can qualify for adult interest, *The Searching Wind* and *Anna and the King of Siam*. The latter drama-

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tizes the published accounts of the plucky Victorian widow who helped the incalculable king of Siam to modernize his kingdom and, through her tutorship of the heir-apparent, succeeded in abolishing the more excrescent abuses of Oriental despotism. That this high enterprise required an unusual amount of grit is self-evident, and Anna in the film (played by Irene Dunne) is an excellent example of the eternal feminine. Her encounters with Siam's prime minister, excellently portrayed by the erstwhile Group Theatre's Lee Cobb, and Siam's mercurial king afford rich comedy. The king, who has been entrusted to the brilliant English actor, Rex Harrison, is one of the screen's most delightful characters. That there is virtually no condescension toward Asiatics is a credit to Twentieth Century-Fox. That the picture misses being the masterpiece it could have been is a discredit to Hollywood—that is, to its code and habituations, to censorship, and to the public which discourages adult comedy or certainly fails to insist on it. *A Carnival in Flanders* or *Baker's Wife* type of treatment was called for in any saga of a Victorian lady's adventures in a land of harems and white elephants. As comedy, *Anna* is too tame and discreet; in the last analysis, it is too prosaic. If this film is none-the-less the cream of the summer supply of pictures, the reason lies in the original choice of theme and in a treatment which identifies Anna's story not only with her personal high-mindedness but with the penetration of Western democracy into the East without the questionable aid of European imperialism.

The Searching Wind is Lillian Hellman's film version of her own Broadway treatment of the theme of pre-war appeasement and the responsibility of our leaders for fascism and its dead-sea fruit, war and devastation. Like the stage play from which the picture does not depart in essentials, the protest is earnest and provocative, though the prosecutor's proof is circumstantial. The film even improves upon the play in that the personal and the political threads are more successfully intertwined and the provocations to forceful, democratic action are more visually realized. Excellent brief scenes dramatize Mussolini's March on Rome, the Spanish civil war and the Munich sell-out. As usual, Hal Wallis has provided an excellent production with competent assistance from Robert Young, Sylvia Sidney, the Abbey and Theatre Guild veteran Dudley Diggs, and the up-and-coming young actor Douglas Dick. It is beyond question that this is the only 1946 picture that completely deserves the support of those of us who want to see the great art of the screen used with social responsibility.

It would be an added gratification to be able to add that here is a film to which such support can be given without regret that it is not more captivating as cinema art than as a dramatic story. It is regrettable that, on the whole, the values have remained stage values, and that therefore the drive and vigor should have remained intellectual rather than emotional and cinematically active. Nor can it be reported that the characters engage our interest and concern sufficiently. The latter

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fault, too, must be placed for the most part at Miss Hellman's door; she failed to supply a deficiency that was already observable in her stage version. The acting personalities of all but the unfailing Dudley Diggs and young Mr. Dick were not attractive enough to compensate for the dramatist's creation of characters who justify her theme but in doing so, keep us only mildly interested in their reality. But even in this respect, and in spite of the danger that the theme may not be as efficaciously promoted as it should be, we must credit both author and the Hazen-Wallis producing unit with an assist in their effort to maintain high standards in the Hollywood game. They could not have been unaware that neither the story nor the main characters would be *ipso facto* attractive to the multitude whose patronage is indispensable in film-making. Yet they resisted the temptation to compromise as Hollywood generally compromises; that is, they did not put liberal doses of saccharine into the bitter potion of political and personal failure. They did not banish the meaning of their story by providing a chaser in the form of conventional romance and a happy ending.

With *Anna and the King of Siam* and *The Searching Wind* Hollywood has helped to eke out the American entertainment fields' slender claim to a decent face. We may add to this the favorable impression that the Lubitsch film *Cluny Brown* has made on the critics. The picturization of Margery Sharp's novel about a refugee's and a plumbing-mad girl's adventures among the English squirearchy and small-town bourgeoisie has its moments of delectable satire. Charles Boyer and Jennifer Jones turn this world topsy-turvy under the directorial eye of Mr. Lubitsch, who has a long string of triumphs in the field of so-called "sophistication." *Cluny Brown,* however, seemed to this reviewer ineptly developed, unconvincing, dispersed and even half-hearted in its attempt at gaiety. Only its departure from the fetid confections of the usual film romance and its attempt at subtlety could draw any hosannahs from a discriminating critic.

The truth is that it is ebb-time in American arts and letters, as it is ebb-time in public morale in the present holiday for black-markets, inflationary selling and buying, second-rate statesmanship and social apathy. The heroic days of wartime alertness and exertion are over. Banality and lassitude suffuse everything. Into the theatre arts, however, two bombshells can be dropped with some comfort by the irate observer, even if no constructive effect can be expected from the effort. The critic who refuses to be coordinated in this *Gleichgeschaltung* of the second-rate can let a new book by Eric Bentley, *The Playwright as Thinker* (Reynal and Hitchcock) speak for him. In this sharp assault will be found not only a dismissal of the current theatre that exists as a contrivance rather than as the expression of a passion or a personality, but a tonic restatement of the main drives and major figures of the theatre that justifiably began calling itself modern with the advent of Ibsen. Mr. Bentley's evaluations of Ibsen, Strindberg,

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Shaw, Pirandello, Brecht and Sartre should not only call attention to contemporary limitations but should goad the practicing playwright and producer to repentance and reform. I don't know how they will be able to keep their self-respect otherwise. During the zenith of any season and under the cajolery of expert stage performances, we are likely to overlook our marked shortcomings. But, when the season gasps out its breath, we must acknowledge the hollowness of most of our theatrical triumphs, and the necessity for heart-searchings and resolves. Mr. Bentley's book could not have been released at a more appropriate time. For this service much can be forgiven him—even his rather academic disregard for the play in performance; his cavalier dismissal of O'Neill and other practicing playwrights, and his ignoring stage conditions that virtually prohibit experimentation on Broadway.

The other bombshell was contributed by Bernard Shaw, which is as it should be. G.B.S. contributes his ninetieth birthday. July 26 was the day, and it was celebrated at a great conclave of the intelligentsia in the Sert Room of the Astor Hotel. The tributes and congratulations were multitudious. It was also an occasion for breast-beating when we considered that, with no exceptions to speak of, no American playwright had risen to the challenge of this momentous period of fascism, war and atomic fission. Not one of them has pitted his wit or compassion, his anguish or vision, against the apocalyptic beasts of this terrible age. Of the giants who could stand up against the story flights of his time-spirit only Shaw remains. Hauptmann, a great man in the remote 1890's when he wrote *The Weaver,* died in June of this year after a long period of silence and obscurity—and, what is worse, tacit submission to the Beast of Berlin. Although Shaw has not contributed a strong play since 1933 when he wrote *On The Rocks,* or a completely good one since he gave us his *Saint Joan,* he has remained brilliantly articulate through thick and thin, and unvanquished in mind and spirit. This, along with his familiar plays and prefaces to which we can always turn with profit and delight, should remind us of our own dearth, from which only the as yet unproduced new plays of Eugene O'Neill (one of them, *The Iceman Cometh,* goes into rehearsal soon) can redeem us. Perhaps we shall also be able to fill the gap when O'Casey's latter-day plays reach the American theatre. They are all incompletely realized but they could acquaint the starveling playgoer with some semblance of greatness.

It may well be said, in conclusion, that until new plays begin to score a mark higher than low-grade competence, the theatre will have to rely on revivals. Revivals necessarily beg the question of creativeness in playwriting. Revivals there should always be—good revivals, that is. It would be folly for the stage to overlook its resources of nearly three thousand years of immortal drama, or drama capable of resuscitation by any producer who understands both the older play and his own times. Only as a substitute for continuous materialization of new plays is a revival theatre a symptom, rather

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than an aggrandizement, of the theatre's estate. However, there is solace in the growing manifestation of interest in the old masterpieces, since they do afford rich possibilities for production, opportunities for acting talent, lessons for dramatists and edification for audiences. The visiting Old Vic company has given us a noble example that may profit us. Next season much is expected from Theatre Incorporated, which gave us Gertrude Lawrence in *Pygmalion,* and from the recently founded American Repertory Theatre of Margeret Webster, Victor Jory and Cheryl Crawford, which is preparing *Henry VIII.* An abundant harvest may be expected again from New York's Equity Library Theatre, which made itself the most extensive and eclectic producer in town, although its productions had to be lodged in the tiny, generally subterranean auditoriums of several public libraries. The 1945-46 Equity Library season included plays by Machiavelli, Dryden, Coward, Maugham, Sutton Vance and others. One of the plays, Dryden's *All For Love,* had not had a New York production since 1797, according to stage annalists. The continuation of so diversified and instructive a program, with the help of its patron John Golden and with the cooperation of Equity Actors' Association, is one of the few streaks of hope on the horizon.

• Few people know that Samuel F.B. Morse was an eminent painter before he invented telegraphy. He once painted a man in the throes of a death agony and had asked a physician to examine it. "Well?" Morse asked after the doctor had scrutinized the picture at some length.

"Malaria!", the doctor replied.

• Mrs. Gladstone was her husband's greatest admirer. One day she became engaged in an argument with some callers at tea about a point of Biblical interpretation. Finally, one lady way beyond her depth said conclusively: "Well, there's One that knows all."

"Yes, replied Mrs. Gladstone. 'William will be down in a few minutes."

• A nine year old was keeping the bowling score for her father and partner. The partner gave her the directions about adding on the numbers. "School is out," she replied testily. "You just tell me the answers."

• The man of the house donned his oldest clothes and went out to mow the lawn. A Cadillac stopped and a woman, poking her head out the window of the car, asked: "What do you get for mowing lawns?

"The lady who lives here lets me live with her," the man replied. The woman drove away without comment.

—*Des Moines Register*

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The International Scene

Since September, 1945, the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, France and sometimes China have been trying to draft peace treaties for the defeated countries of Europe. They met in September, in December, in April, and lastly, in June—and in all but the fourth meeting found it necessary to declare a cooling off period in the hope that deadlocks might melt away. Interested peoples the world over criticized the "esoteric and turgid" discussions and pleaded for an early settlement. Finally, by the middle of July, the Council of Foreign Ministers finished its task, if only in a compromise and, in some instances, a temporary fashion.

FOR THE PRESENT

The treaty with Italy roused much of the trouble. In the settlement of reparations, boundaries and colonies, there was always the underlying problem of the West versus the Soviet Union. But when the United States and Great Britain indicated that they might make separate treaties with the nations in question, the bickering died down. Provisions for the Italian treaty include: (1) transfer of the Dodecanese Islands from Italy to Greece; (2) retention by Italy of South Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass despite Austrian claims; (3) cession to France of the Briga-Tenda area on the Franco-Italian border; (4) British administration of Italy's former colonies pending a final solution.

One of the most important settlements concerned ever-disputed Trieste. The Russians had insisted that Trieste and environs should go to protegé Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. Great Britain and United States had supported Italian claims to the city. In the end the Foreign Ministers compromised. They agreed to establish Trieste as an internationalized "free territory" under the authority of the United Nations Security Council.

A draft treaty was approved not only for Italy, but for the other lesser European states of the late Nazi orbit: Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland. Changes in these areas include; (1) the return of Transylvania, with a population of 2,700,000, from Hungary to Rumania; (2) the loss by Rumania of Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria; (3) the shift of Bessarabia, Bukovina from Rumania and the Karelian isthmus and the port of Petsamo from Finland to the Soviet Union. A guarantee of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms of expression was written into the treaty with Finland and may be included in some of the others. The evacuation of Allied troops, reparations, size of armies, commercial regulations, were some other points included.

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers closed with a debate on Europe's major problem—Germany. V. M. Molotov opened the discussion with the insistence that Russia be paid $10,000,000,000 in reparations and that

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Allied troops remain in Germany until that amount had been paid. He followed this statement by announcing his opposition to any plan that would dismember, federalize or reduce Germany to the status of an agricultural state. This, of course, is in direct contrast to the French desire to separate the Ruhr Valley from Germany and to the Morganthau doctrine of the de-industrializing of Germany. Earlier, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes had suggested a four-power, 25-year treaty to keep Germany disarmed.

The long-awaited peace conference is to be held July 29, in the same Luxembourg Palace in Paris where the Foreign Ministers have been meeting. Once again Paris will play host to peace negotiators. It is expected that the delegates and their staffs will number at least 1,000 persons, ranging from the United States and Soviet delegations of 150 to those of Canda and Australia containing only 22. These people, representing the 21 nations responsible for the defeat of the Axis, will make recommendations on the treaties drafted by the Big Four.

POWER UNLEASHED

Whether or not the Bikini test proved to the politicians all the scientists wanted it to prove, any weapon that may kill 66,000 people in one blow is hell on earth. Well aware of this menace, the United Nations considers the control of atomic energy one of its most pressing problems.

The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, specifically, has tackled the question. On June 15, Bernard Baruch, American member of the commission, introduced a plan. Five days later, Andrei A. Gromyko presented the Russian plan, which, as was expected, disagreed with the first one. The American plan calls for the creation of a

—Williams in The Detroit Free Press

"STANDING STILL"

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rigid international control authorized to check on atomic activity all over the world, at will. The Russian plan provides for an international pact forbidding atomic weapons and, once ratified, would require the destruction of all reserve atomic bombs. The Americans would set up a separate authority, more or less independent of the United Nations, but the Russians would retain the present commission with the final authority resting with the Security Council. Always a point of controversy, the attitude on veto power differs. The United States wants to abolish the Big Five veto in matters of atomic energy; the Soviet Union insists that it be kept.

Both plans were turned over to a special subcommittee for reconciliation.

RETURN OF THE NATIVE

An Arab of undistinguished appearance arrived at an airfield in Cairo in an airliner from Paris. Stripped as he was of grandeur and his characteristic red beard, he was still Haj Amin el Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, the man who disappeared mysteriously from his enforced sojourn in France.

His arrival in the Near East aroused political feeling among his fellow Arabs and in concerned European circles. In a Palestine already rent with the strife of the Arab versus the Jew, new violence broke out. Jews there, who number about 600,000, demonstrated against the arrival of the Mufti, their leading enemy. The Arab League ordered the dissolution of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee and the Higher Front and formed instead a new executive committee with the Grand Mufti as its spiritual head. One Arab spokesman expressed the feeling of a crowd wildly greeting the returned leader; "This is one of the happiest moments in the Arab Middle East."

The Arabs are happy because, despite his collaboration with the Axis, Haj Amin is still the only leader of the Palestine Arabs. They expect him to resume command of the "national struggle" against Zionism which he led in 1937 and which led to his flight. Their cause is newly inspired.

Europeans are unhappy because the Mufti's arrival means more trouble. They are concerned not merely because he is an intense anti-Zionist, but because he worked hand in hand with Hitler and Mussolini. In 1942 he promised the Nazi the support of the "Arab Peoples" and there is evidence at Nuremberg that he was the author of the Nazi plan for the extermination of over 5,000,000 Jews. Such is the stuff war criminals are made of. To many Allied leaders his freedom is embarrassing.

Taking a dramatic advantage of his opportune timing and a strained political scene, the Mufti made a formal call on King Farouk of Egypt and made an equally formal request. Consequently, in accordance with the ancient Moslem tradition of hospitality, he was granted asylum by the Egyptian royal house. The next day the Egyptian government was very careful to say that the Mufti would be expected to refrain from any political activity that might embarrass Egypt in her relations with Great Britain

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1896—Fifty Years of Forum—1946

"It will require no great effort to show laboring men the truth that in times of inflation wages never rise so fast or so far as prices of commodities: and that wages are likely to fall rather than rise if employers are crippled." Andrew D. White appealed for sober thought in the election campaign of '96 when a bitter battle was fought between William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley, the "free coinage of silver" against the gold standard and protective tariff.

In addition to stalwart opinions on the issues of the day, FORUM'S contributors revealed the respectable attitudes of 1896, some as comical to us as the mustache cup or the extensive bustle.

TOO BUSY TO TALK.

"Bicycling is highly exhilarating and promotes sociability since it is both pleasanter and safer to ride in company than alone. In women it is apt to overcome the impulsiveness and whimsicality which render so many of them unhappy."

"Three positions are in use by bicyclists—the upright, the curved, and the bent." The upright "posture is by far the best from a hygienic and medical standpoint. It is safer in case of falls; it is the only one that can be called graceful. . . . It should therefore be used especially by beginners, old men, children and women."

J. Laurence Laughlin commented on the dilemma of our monetary policy in 1896. "The free-coinage agitation, directed openly against the standard on which we have done business since 1834 . . . unsettled confidence at home and abroad in the stability of our monetary policy. No one could know that contracts entered into when a dollar stood for 100 cents in gold might not be paid off in silver which stood for 50 cents on a dollar."

A Naturalist, writing on "the Zoological aspects of female suffrage," states—"the ease with which girls and young women have, during the last few years, emancipated themselves from physical imbecility shows that they have been under no subjection, and that, if they contented themselves in the last generation with slovenly and spasmodic attempts at croquet, this only showed their ignorance of their own capacity."

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(Continued from page 182)

or any other powers. He was to be regarded as a "political refugee" and would not be surrendered to anyone. So as it stands, the Arabs continue to be inspired; the Allies, embarassed; and the Mufti, immune.

ITALY TRIES DEMOCRACY

Spurned by the people of his country, King Humbert was reluctant to leave Italy. Although, supported by the majority of Italian voters, the government had declared Italy a *de facto* republic, the king refused to accept the decision without a formal proclamation by the Court of Cassation. Finally, on June 13, Humbert left the country, suddenly and unexpectedly, to join other exiled kings.

In his wake there remained the new Republic of Italy. This regime celebrated its ascent by decreeing a wide amnesty and act of pardon designed to pacify many Italians. Then on June 25, the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated under the temporary chairmanship of Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, the last of the World War I Big Four. His words brought cheers, especially when he mentioned the "tragedy of our people of Trieste, Gorizia, Fiume, Pola, Zara and, indeed, the whole of Venezia Giulia." But the people of Italy in general and the Constituent Assembly in particular did not want a leader who had supported the monarchy, but one who was opposed to fascism above everything else. Such a man was Enrico de Nicola, who was elected to the Provisional Presidency by 396 votes (Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists) out of a possible 504. Already an old man, De Nicola had abandoned his political career in 1924 as a protest against fascism. Four times before he had refused to become premier. During Mussolini's reign he remained free from any fascist entanglements, thus saving himself embarassment at the present time. Since he comes from monarchist Naples, it was hoped that his election would allay southern resentment toward a democracy. Little immediate change, however, is seen in the political life of Italy. One of the first activities of the new government duplicated that of the late monarchy—the (vain) reiteration of the demand that Trieste be returned to Italy.

"POLITICAL EFFERVESCENCES"

Georges Bidault took time out from his discussions with the other Big Four Foreign Ministers to take on the duties of Provisional President of France. A successor to General Charles de Gaulle, hero of the occupation, and Felix Gouin, leader of the Socialists, he became the third president of the provisional government. In 1939, M. Bidault was an obscure professor of history and editor of *L'Aube,* a Catholic newspaper of liberal tendencies, on the side. The year of 1941 he spent in a German prison camp and it was there that he decided to join the resistance movement. Securing a teaching position in occupied France, he took an increasingly active part in the underground until he became President of the National Resistance Council.

The new Constituent Assembly, elected on June 2, voted 389 to 156 for Bidault. It was not a question of who would win the election, June

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19, but who would support Bidault. As leader of the Popular Republicans who held more seats than any other party in the assembly, Bidault had been the logical choice. Only the Communists and a few individuals abstained from voting. Fortunately, the Communists did not refuse to participate in the government; they received seven cabinet positions. Nine of the other Cabinet posts were given to the Popular Republicans and six to the Socialists. Like the old government, the new one is a three-party regime.

Already the Constituent Assembly is considering a new plan for a constitution, the M. R. P. plan. This calls for a president with broad powers, a popularly elected National Assembly and a Council of the Republic chosen by regional governments. Acceptance of the proposed constitution hinges on the Socialists, who formerly sided with the Communists and who are now leaning toward the Popular Republicans.

FREE AND UNFETTERED ELECTIONS

Lying in the Soviet periphery but with a lively pro-British-United States faction, Poland is beginning to feel the pangs of an approaching election in November. One spasm came on June 30 when the Polish people took part in a constitutional referendum. For the first time since 1935, when the Pilsudski regime abolished elections, the people had an opportunity to vote and an approximated 8,000,000 Poles did so. Up for approval were three questions: (1) establishment of a one-house parliament, (2) nationalization of basic industries and land reform and (3) establishment of the western boundary of Poland at the Oder and Neisse Rivers. The Leftist parties campaigned for three "yeses" and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, leader of the opposition, led the fight to turn down the single house proposal, lest the Communists become all-powerful. Returns, however, brought a decisive victory for the government.

But all was not sweetness and light. The large vote against the government proposals is considered significant in contrast to the weak opposition in other Russian dominated countries. Within the country there was evidence that the referendum was not so free and unfettered as visualized by the planners at Yalta and Potsdam. Reports revealed that several hundred members of the opposition party, the Polish Peasants party, were arrested and that demonstrations broke up some of the voting. Mikolajczyk protested against the "irregularities." Everywhere there were charges of fraud and intimidation. In all, these preliminary elections did not soothe the political brow of Poland. By the middle of July, in fact, many Poles and become concerned over the possibility of civil war.

For the rest of the world, there remains the old question: Whose buffer should Poland be?

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The Domestic Scene

The war had been over for a year. And at last the nation heaved a vast sigh, allowed a feeling of exhaustion to creep in and prepared to act like people with not a care in the world. The rain-checks on long-delayed vacations were being cashed in *en masse,* resorts were packed to the gills, family cars were piled high with vacation impedimenta, and it was estimated that the American public will spend this summer $6,000,000,000 for its outing. With the traditional vacation spots charging all the traffic will bear, the harrassed household financier wondered if there would be anything but mosquito bites and sunburn to show for the holiday. But, worth it or not, the American public took to the open road for the first time in four years.

Yet in the midst of a nation relaxing, a nation taking up the peacetime antics of flag-pole sitting, marathons and bathing beauty contests, all was not sweetness and light. Much as the country tried to believe that "We must cultivate our own garden," the winds that blew from Paris and the Pacific to Washington told that this was no "best of all possible worlds."

AT THE CROSSROADS

On July 1 the fourth atomic bomb in history was dropped. Unlike its predecessors, however, *Gilda* played to a full house. People all over the world heard a play-by-play account of Test Able, from the time the superfortress left Kwajalein until Admiral Blandy, commander of Joint-Army-Navy Task Force One, hours later announced that the test had been successful and no personnel injured. Millions of radio listeners heard the bombardier's: "Mark: Bomb away, bomb away, bomb away!" as *Dave's Dream*—named after a B-29 bombardier who was killed while competing for the honor of dropping the bomb—unloaded its cargo above the 73 ships assembled in the Bikini lagoon.

Aboard the test ships, deserted by all human beings, there was nevertheless life. Some of the two hundred goats were swaddled in protective clothing, others were shaved and covered with protective ointments. Two hundred pigs, hundreds of rats and some white mice susceptible to cancer were on board. Some vessels contained bottled germs of influenza and other diseases to determine the medical effect of radioactive rays. Also on hand were fruit flies, used in the study of heredity, from which scientists hoped to determine the effects of radiation on future generations.

To a country brought up on Buck Rogers, Flash Gordon and Jules Verne, the results of the atomic bomb were disappointing. Some people apparently expected all the ships to become a sunken mass of molten steel. A few commentators dubbed the bomb a bust. Yet considering the bomb from the practical aspect of future naval warfare, the results were terrifying. It will take many months for the results of the first of the three tests to be evaluated. But a week after the explosion it was clearly established that almost every ship was injured, five sunk and nine critically damaged.

Much to most people's amazement, the target ship *Nevada* was still

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afloat. This is attributed largely to the fact that the bomb was a "near miss". Instead of dropping directly on the ship, it exploded from one-quarter to one-third of a mile away. The bomb also, according to the observing scientists, exploded at a lower level than had been anticipated, possibly 50 feet above the water. Explosion at a higher altitude was planned to prevent dissipation of much of the blast wave against the water instead of against the ships.

When observers dared to go aboard the *Nevada,* they found 90 per cent of the goats still alive. However, subsequent check-up revealed a steady falling in the blood count of the goats and many of them were not expected to live. The majority of the mice and rats were dead. This led the investigating committee to remark that regardless of whether or not ships would still be afloat after an atomic blast, it was impossible to build vessels thick enough to prevent the vast majority of their personnel from being killed or incapacitated.

The two subsequent tests, (Test Baker, scheduled for July 25, and Test Charlie, to take place sometime next year) are expected to wreak even greater havoc upon the assembled vessels. But the results of the first test were enough for some people. Said Senator Hatch, chairman of President Truman's Evaluation Commission: "What I have seen here strongly confirms my previous conviction that any nation which goes to war today only commits national suicide, and that very quickly."

HIGHER AND HIGHER

Two questions puzzled the American people last month. Not only was there the query: "Who killed Cock Robin?", but also: "Are we happy or sorry that he is dead?"

Even the time of death could not be determined. When was the O.P.A. killed? Was it when the Senate passed a greatly weakened price control bill on June 28? Or was it the following day, when President Truman, declaring that the bill presented "a choice between inflation with a statute and inflation without one," vetoed the measure?

The vetoed bill would have created a three-man independent board which could remove ceilings if the Secretary of Agriculture or the O.P.A. did not. The "Taft" amendment established a formula requiring producers' and processors' ceilings to allow for the 1941 price of every product produced plus the average increased production cost. The increased prices would be passed to the consumer by a requirement that distributors' ceilings reflect profit margins of January, 1946. The O.P.A.'s maximum average price regulation, requiring manufacturers to turn out low-cost clothing in the same ratio as they did in a previous year, was abolished. Subsidies were reduced to $1,000,000.

President Truman, taking the stand that the measure "continues the government's responsibility to stabilize the economy and at the same time destroys the government's power to do so," asked for a new bill. Pending passage of the measure, he requested a resolution temporarily extending

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price control, since the O.P.A.'s sands of time had but one day in which to run out. "I cannot bring myself to believe that the representatives of the American people will permit the great calamity which will befall this country if price and rent control end at midnight Sunday."

But the resolution was not forthcoming, and on July 1, for the first time in four years, the country was without price control. Empty show-windows suddenly filled with new automobiles; signs reading "Nylons now on sale" appeared in store windows. In stock-yards, hogs reached $20, the highest price paid in 27 years. The first $2 wheat since 1925 appeared in Chicago. Cattle reached an all-time high of $22. In the retail market, in some cities meat prices rose 50 per cent; milk reached 23 cents a quart. Fantastic rent increases were reported.

—*Shoemaker in The Chicago Daily News*

"CUTTING LOOSE"

Were these indications of still higher prices to come, the beginning of the "boom and bust" cycle? Or were they just a short, spasmodic spurt, with prices settling down to normal after a few months? Nobody knew for sure, but everybody had his guess. As Congress struggled through the hot July in an effort to evolve a new bill, the housewife watched her dollar shrink. And the dominant thought became, not "Who killed Cock Robin?", but "will what goes up come down?"

LITTLE MAN, YOU'VE HAD A BUSY SESSION

It was an exhausted Congress that ended its session and prepared to leave the sweltering capital for home, where some political fences were sadly in need of mending.

Many were the problems it had endeavored to tackle. Much was accomplished, and as much left undone. Months were devoted to restrictive labor legislation and price control, yet congressional efforts resembled the mouse-bearing mountain.

With the close of the session only two anti-labor acts became law, both

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of them aimed at specific unions. One, the Lea Act, was immediately violated by James Petrillo to force a court test of its validity. The government preferred charges against the president of the American Federation of Musicians when he attempted to make a Chicago radio station double the number of its musicians. It will be September, however, before the case is brought before a judge.

The other measure, the Hobbs "anti-racketeering" Act, aims at the A.F.L.'s Teamsters Union and its practices, particularly in New York. The act provides penalties up to 20 years imprisonment and fines up to $10,000 for interference "by robbery or extortion" or by threats of violence with the movement of interstate goods.

Congress also had its ideas about the rights and duties of government employees. In almost every appropriation bill to come before the legislature, clauses were added which forbade the payment of any salaries to federal employees who belong to unions professing the right to strike against the government.

Another problem was the draft extension. After weeks of agonizing struggle, on June 25 a compromise was reached. Selective Service was extended until next March 31, but 18-year-olds were exempted, as were fathers. The new law also provides that all fathers now serving be released by August 1, and that all men in the armed forces over 18 months be immediately discharged. The measure fixed the size of the army at 1,550,000 on July 1 and at 1,070,000 a year from now.

A companion measure to spur volunteer enlistments was also passed. It provided for pay rises running from 50 per cent for buck privates and apprentice seamen to 10 per cent for the highest officers. Another spur was Secretary of War Patterson's acceptance of many of the recommendations of the Doolittle Board investigating Army inequalities.

PREVIEW OF THINGS TO COME?

To a nation girding for the fall congressional elections, the summer primaries were important. But so contradictory were the results that any political dopester could see whatever handwriting on the wall he wished. In some states the P.A.C.-supported candidates were licked; in others they were successful. "The Man" Bilbo, proudly telling Mississippians that he was the protector of white Protestants against the Negroes, the Jews, the Catholics, the Italians and the "carpetbaggers", won a sweeping victory.

In California, grows an Alice-in-Wonderland type of politics. There a presidential prospect for 1948, Earl Warren, running on both the Democratic and Republican tickets, deafeated one of the best Democratic vote-catchers in the West, Robert Kenny, who enjoyed P.A.C. support. Warren's re-election in November is assured, since his only opponent will be a Prohibitionist.

For a while it looked as though Harold's Stassen's hopes for the 1948 Republican nomination were to be buried on the lone prairie. He had invaded Nebraska to support Governor Dwight Griswold, a staunch inter-

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nationalist, for the United States Senate. But the incumbent, Hugh Butler, who voted against lend-lease, against extension of the pre-war draft, against U.N.R.R.A. appropriations, against Bretton Woods and against the British loan, won hands down.

But Stassen, the young man "on the make," wasn't down for long. Three weeks later came the Minnesota primaries. The incumbent, Henrick Shipstead, campaigned for re-election almost solely on his votes against the United Nations Charter and the British loan. Governor Edward Thye, campaigning on international issues and backed by Stassen, won a sweeping victory in a primary which established a new Minnesota high for voter participation. Only time can tell which will be more important in 1948: the isolationist victories in North Dakota and Nebraska or the Stassen victory in Minnesota.

VERY WARM FOR MAY

In the course of the Mead Committee's investigations of war contracts, an interesting connection appeared early in July between a group of firms, whom chairman Mead described as the worst war profiteers yet, and Representative May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee.

The facts of the dispute, and perhaps scandal, are still vague. It has definitely been established, however, that Andrew May brought pressure to bear on Ordnance officials to award contracts to the Erie Basin Metal Products Corporation. Secretary of War Patterson testified that May personally asked him to hear the complaints of the firm last year against an order freezing the payment of further government funds to the corporation. And May apparently was personally financially involved with a lumber company which was a subsidiary of the firm. He is also supposed to have pressured through the War Department an undeserved Army "E" for one of the Chicago firms. The corporations handling $78,000,000 worth of war contracts were part of a bewildering set-up of paper corporations in which two-family groups voted themselves large salaries, received money for lumber orders which were never delivered and tried to get Army auditors out of their plants.

Further investigation alone will tell whether May used his strategic government position to help his friends and aid himself, or whether he was an unsuspecting pawn for outside interests.

• There is no advancement to him who stands trembling because he cannot see the end from the beginning.

• Keeping in step with the Lord(s):

The Earl of Darnley proposed a motion in the House of Lords that the government should seek peace through the Christian principle of loving one's neighbor.

Viscount Addison, leader of the Lords, called for a more effective suggestion. Up rose Viscount Cecil of Chelwood to squelch the issue, remarking that the Lords should not "be led aside by a lot of verbiage," as such a course would not "advance the cause of peace in the slightest degree."

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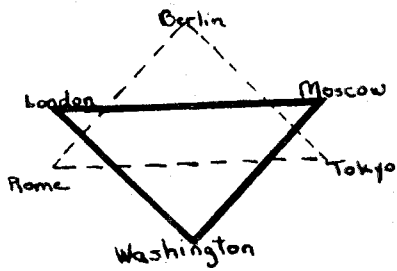

Now that the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis has been erased, what will take its place? How much do you know about world affairs? What are the bottlenecks in the peace negotiations? Why was the Mikhailovich trial significant? What are the conflicts in Trieste, New Delhi, Mukden, Jerusalem, Batavia?

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FORUM FEATURES

Last month, opening the series on the rôle of the expert in a democracy, **Otto F. Kraushaar** stated his belief that the expert should be on tap but not on top. **Monroe C. Beardsley** disagrees with him in this issue. According to the latter, not only should the expert be integrated into the government, but the scientific method he stands for should be adopted in all the procedures of political life. Besides contributing to several philosophical journals, Mr. Beardsley taught philosophy at Yale and at Mount Holyoke. This fall he is returning to Yale where he will be an assistant professor in the newly formed Program of Directed Studies, an experiment in general education.

The joint efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Julius Cohen resulted in their article on filibustering. Interested in government in its relation to social problems, **Lillian Cohen** is at present making a study of the socio-economic factors in underwriting by industry of the authority of the National Labor Relations Board. **Julius Cohen** is Professor of Law at the University of Nebraska. Prior to his present assignment, he was with the legal division of the War Manpower Commission and before the war was on the faculty of the Department of Political Science at West Virginia University. He has contributed to such periodicals as the Columbia, University of Chicago and Cornell Law Reviews.

After the successful publication of his first book of poetry in 1907, **Witter Bynner** turned from journalism to poetry. In addition to his books of poetry, among them **Young Harvard, The New World** and **Eden Tree,** and his one-act verse plays, **Tiger, The Little King,** etc., he spent a decade on the preparation of the English version of **Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty,** the first volume of Chinese verse to be translated intact by an American poet. Since 1922, Mr. Bynner has lived in New Mexico and has spent much time in Mexico, the literary result being **Indian Earth.** He has lectured and read his poems all over the United States and in the Orient.

In these days of tense international conferences, the layman wonders what philosopher's stone is required for the foundation of an effective world organization. The Forum this month, for instance, concerns one basis, desirable or otherwise, for international affairs; namely, power politics. Can this hard policy be divorced from the United Nations? **Morley G. Dilke** says "yes"; **Joseph C. Williams** says "no".

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